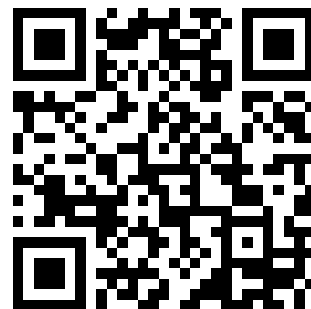


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*Armenia and Europe:  
An Indictment*

by

J. Lepsius



# ARMENIA AND EUROPE

An Indictment

BY

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BERLIN

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## INTRODUCTORY LETTER

DEAR DR. LEPSIUS,—The responsibility of presenting to English readers your researches upon the Armenian question has fallen to my lot, and it is a burden which I accept the more cheerfully because my own investigations into the illfare of the unfortunate subjects of the Sultan of Turkey have led me along similar lines of inquiry to your own, and to conclusions which verify yours and closely coincide with them. Now if we were engaged upon some common problem in material science, and had, upon independent lines, arrived at coincident conclusions in which the welfare of the human race was directly or indirectly involved, there would be no reason why I, as an Englishman, should have to make an introductory apology for a German brother. Science has almost unified for us the aims to which we direct our efforts, has made the success of one the common property of all, and has raised the maxim, 'Homo sum, nihil humanum alienum a me puto,' from a noisy stage platitude to the quiet dignity of a home truth in the conscience of

the world. Here, at least, there is no longer either Greek or Jew. How nobly was this expressed, though in more moderate terms than we are entitled to use to-day, by our English philosopher, Humphry Davy, when he was taxed with want of patriotism for receiving from France a token of appreciation of his galvanic researches. 'If,' said he, 'the two countries or governments are at war, the men of science are not. That would be a civil war of the worst description; we should rather, through the instrumentality of men of science, soften the asperities of national hostility.' No one can, I think, doubt that what Davy as a scientific man desired is well on the road to accomplishment; so that when you and I present the results of our wanderings and observations in the arid uplands of Armenia, or in the equally arid region of Blue-books, Red-books, and the like, there seems to be no reason why those who read should not as readily believe us as truth-seeking and truth-speaking men, as they would instinctively disbelieve statements which emanated from the Sultan and his advisers.

But when we turn from the simple accumulation and accurate manipulation of scientific facts to the religious and political side of our living, we are made painfully conscious that the same community of interests does not exist, and that, in consequence of this, there is not the same mutual

confidence as to personal good faith. The Christian Church to-day, with rare and honourable exceptions, is as divided over the Armenian question as if Christ had never died to make us one. The religious teachers and their organs betray either cleavage in their thought or apathy in their emotions when the sufferings of Christian Armenia are enumerated. One would almost think that it was a heresy to care for those who suffer for the elect Name, or a schism to betray the passion of love towards their fidelity. Here in England it is only slowly that our leading ecclesiastics have ventured to speak, and when they have spoken, it has too often been with bated breath and whispering humbleness; they appear to be more afraid of embarrassing the governments of the day than of embarrassing the Lord of all ages. And what last winter we experienced in England has been still more notable amongst our German brethren, many of whom appear to be almost ready to cast out of the Church of Christ a man who like yourself should venture to remind them that the *exercitus candidatus* has received more recruits from Armenia than from whole centuries of previous conflict and successful pain. A brother student from one of your great universities, whose honoured name I have not ventured to quote, from fear of the misunderstandings that the reference might provoke, writes me that this

recent persecution in Armenia exceeds in its intensity the sum-total of the horrors of Diocletian, Decius, and Nero.

I had come to the same conclusion myself, and you would, I believe, indorse it. *Yet the Christian Church, at large, seems to have no consciousness of this tremendous religious fact.* It can recognise martyrs when calendared and chronicled, when a capital S is prefixed to their names, or a capital M is suffixed; it knows an aureole when it sees one painted in a church window, but cannot detect a trace of it on the beaten skull of one of Christ's faithful men, women, or children in Armenia. Perhaps this arises from the fact that the ordinary martyr of the Church has not been treated historically by orthodox writers. He has been falsely idealised, his virtue has been dehumanised, and his sufferings have been depicted in exaggerated detail, while the actual fighting strength of this battalion of Christ's army has been so artificially expanded that many historians have been driven into the position of denying that hagiology is a branch of history at all. And this reactionary attitude is as unsatisfactory as the common ecclesiastical view; for I have found, over and over again, in my recent researches in the interior of Asiatic Turkey, that I was obliged to give back to sober history some Church legend of suffering which I had too hastily ascribed to

the perverted and heated imagination of the hagiologist, for the simple reason that the heredity of crime had reproduced the same tortures almost under my very eyes. And I do not doubt that if our great Gibbon were alive to-day, he would equally be led to conclude that he had underestimated the extent and the intent of the martyrdoms of the Early Church. The best way to acquire a just sense of proportion in ecclesiastical history is to study the subject on its modern side, as well as from *Acta Sanctorum* and *Tables of Festivals*. And when we treat martyrdom in this way, leaving the falsely idealised ecclesiastical view of the sanctity which inheres in a martyr's life and exhales from his remains, and recognising him as our own flesh and blood (*plus* the grace Divine which makes us inherit a kingdom wider than that of nature), we shall find that *our martyred brethren in Armenia have, in these last days, borne the same testimony as was borne in days gone by, and they have borne it as worthily.* You and I know this, but it is not known in the Holy Synod of Moscow, and is only beginning to be recognised at the Vatican. Protestant Germany and Catholic Austria are alike in their failure to realise it. And in France and England they have keen scent for Nihilists, but none for Saints! The world at large can, to its credit, sometimes understand the meaning of 'Homo

sum,' but the Church does not any longer respond to the almost equivalent formula, 'Christianus sum.' How then does it come about, my dear Lepsius, that this religious unity, of which martyrdom is the most conspicuous affirmation, is so little realised? I am almost tempted to despair of modern Christianity when I find our bishops so long tongue-tied and our synods and presbyteries so largely silent. How far we have fallen in these matters behind the scientific conscience with its grandly denationalised sense of human brotherhood in things good and evil! Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that religion has so largely become an organised selfishness, covered with the shadow of great names, and trading with the capital of sacrifices made by earlier and more loyal days.

But if the Church is selfish, torpid, and almost criminally indifferent, what shall we say of our political lives? Here, at least, we see little redemption from self-seeking, little hope for the future of humanity. Whole civilisations may be blotted out, and churches which have stood for centuries disappear, while we are engaged in counting one another's ironclads, or mustering armies for conflicts that ought long ago to have been by common consent classified under the head of unholy imaginations.

It is your praise, good brother, that you have

dared to approach this question without religious or national prejudice. When your papers upon the subject were first promised, a leading French newspaper remarked that we now stood some chance of learning the truth about Armenia. And I cannot but hope that in England also your words will carry conviction amongst a wide margin of indifferent or ill-informed persons, and hasten the day when we shall be prepared in common to abolish the foulest tyranny that gehennizes (forgive the creation of a necessary word) the world in which we can only truly live, accordingly as we live brotherly and freely.

The translation of your little book has been accomplished under my supervision, and that of my friend, Miss A. W. Richardson, of Westfield College.

A few passages which were unsuitable to an English edition have been excised; the rest has been done into English so as to represent you as closely as possible in your own words.

With sincere regards, believe me, dear Dr. Lepsius, your friend,

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
*December 22, 1896.*

## P R E F A C E

A JOURNEY through Anatolia and Syria led me, in May of this year, through two of the provinces, which, in the preceding months, had been the scene of the Armenian disturbances and massacres. During a ride that lasted for several weeks, through a country still unsettled, there was gradually forced upon me, in my intercourse with the Turkish population in town and country, a view of the Armenian question opposed to that almost universally held in Germany and represented by the Press. During my whole journey through Anatolia I did not meet a single Mohammedan, who, in giving his judgment concerning the events of the last few months, did not proceed on the obvious assumption that the butchery and plunder of the Armenian people had been arranged by the Government and expressed the will of the Sultan. The Turkish country-people spoke quite openly upon the subject: the Mullahs had said in the mosques that the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the spiritual chief of the Mohammedan world, had ordered the extermination of the Armenians. As the authorities, at least in the towns, had

only set apart a limited space of several hours or days for the massacres and pillage, and then had called a halt, there was only one feature of the whole matter obscure to the Turkish population. They could not understand why the life of a single Armenian was spared. In consequence, a remarkable fiction took shape among the people. We were informed with all gravity that the German Emperor after the outbreak of the massacres had written to the Sultan that enough had been done and he might now call a halt, and that upon this the Sultan had commanded that the murderous work should cease.

The opinions which I formed during my journey led me, while in the East, to collect as much material as possible with regard to the origin and the course of the massacres. This work I continued after my return to Germany in order to test my own views by the reports of as many eye-witnesses as possible. I may remark, in order to allay any suspicion—the almost morbid Anglophobia of our German press makes such an observation necessary—that the material used for the narrative given in this book up to the two statements of G. H. Fitzmaurice (Section II.) and E. J. Dillon (Section III.), has come neither from English, nor, with a few isolated exceptions, from Armenian sources. In all parts of Turkey there

are foreigners of every nationality, among whom Germans themselves are fairly represented, and who, as eye-witnesses, can give thoroughly trustworthy reports. Obviously too, the English consular reports, which are accessible to every one in the blue-books, form a rich and reliable source of information about the conditions in Armenia. But as the German public might regard even these with suspicion, I have abstained from making them the groundwork of my narrative. However, it is worth while to observe that England, America, and France have for some time possessed a thorough and accurate body of literature upon the Armenian question, which is entirely lacking in Germany. I may instance E. J. Dillon's 'The Condition of Armenia' (*Contemporary Review*, August, 1895), his 'Armenian Appeal' (*Contemporary Review*, January, 1896); F. D. Greene's *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey* (New York and London, March 1895), his *The Rule of the Turk* (New York and London, March 1895); Malcolm MacColl's *England's Responsibility towards Armenia* (London, January 1896); M. Charmetant's *Martyrologe Arménien* (March 1896); G. Godet's *Les Souffrances de l'Arménie* (Neuchâtel 1896); and G. Clemenceau's *Les Massacres d'Arménie* (Paris, July 1896). The articles collected under the title 'Die Wahrheit über Armenien,' appeared in August of this year in the Berlin *Reichsbote*.

Finally, I can only express the wish that the facts presented in this book may be used by my readers, in order once more to test the judgment they have formed upon the Armenian question. In that case the sole object which I had in view in its composition will be attained. This object was simply that by its means public opinion in Germany should no longer contemplate the sufferings of Eastern Christians in the unsympathetic manner hitherto in vogue.

J. LEPSIUS.

FRIESDORF BEI WIPPRA,  
August 1896.

## LATER NOTE

WHILE this book has been in the press, the massacre in Constantinople has taken place, whereby the eyes of the world have once more been turned to the Armenian question. The massacres of Van, Niksar, and Eghin in June of this year, although in their course 20,000 Armenians were slaughtered, have, in spite of the details given in the *Frankfort Journal*, made not the slightest impression on the Continental press. For the culture of central Europe such events lie too far away in the depths of Turkish territory. Not until the horrid tragedy in Constantinople took place were diplomatists and newspapers reminded of the existence of Armenia.

On the 26th of August I wrote in the last section of *The Truth about Armenia*: 'It appears urgently necessary that Europe should gravely consider the probability of an early renewal of the Armenian disturbances. When this occurs it will indeed probably be a question of an Armenian revolution, as Turkey would have had us believe was the case from the first.'



More rapidly even than I feared these words have been fulfilled, for on the same day the attack on the Ottoman Bank by a handful of Armenians from Russia took place. The Turkish Government knew beforehand of the purposed attempt, and had taken the necessary measures, not to prevent the revolutionary action of a few foreign Armenians, but to organise, owing to this welcome opportunity, a universal massacre of Christians belonging to the peaceful Armenian inhabitants of Constantinople. The mob were quite unconstrained in their assertions that the Sultan had given them 'thirty hours free for murder and plunder.' The number of slaughtered Armenians is variously reported as between 1000 and 10,000. What action was taken by the representatives of the Powers? In their riotous attempt the revolutionary Armenians had them in view, for from the windows of the Ottoman Bank they declared that they had no wish to make a demonstration either against the Bank or against the Porte, but *against the Christian Powers, which had left the Armenians to their fate.* What action then, I ask, was taken by the representatives of the Powers? This time they not only wrote notes, but even went so far as to telegraph to the Sultan. For the rest, they acted just as in the case of Armenia. There they allowed 100,000 unarmed and peaceful Armenians to be slaughtered, without stirring

a finger, while, on the other hand, they hastened to the assistance of the revolutionaries at Zeitoun and effected an amnesty. Here in Constantinople in the same way they allowed some thousands of innocent Armenians to be slaughtered during the course of three days, while the revolutionaries through their mediation got off scot-free and were conducted out of the country in safety. What deduction will the Armenians draw from this conduct?

Perhaps after the late experiences in Constantinople, where the massacre was organised under the very eyes of the European population of the metropolis, and was accomplished in precisely the same fashion as those in Armenia, the representations made in this book will secure attention in circles where formerly a belief in the good intentions of the Porte has existed, and where therefore all energetic measures against it were conscientiously discouraged.

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## I. THE TRUTH ABOUT ARMENIA

### I. DRY FACTS

THE truth about Armenia must be made known at last. During the past nine months the German Press has been flooded with statements not merely biassed, but, as we shall be able to show, false, and deliberately intended to deceive Europe.

Care has been taken that the conduct of the so-called 'rebellious' Armenians should be set forth in the strongest light as the cause of all the mischief, and at the same time the true story of how a great Christian nation has been subjected to massacre and pillage, and how multitudes have been compelled to abjure their faith, is practically unknown in Germany.

A Turkish Commission was appointed to inquire into the occurrences which took place at Sassoun in the autumn of 1894, when in a massacre in which Turkish soldiers took part, twenty-seven Christian villages were destroyed and thousands of Armenians were murdered. Delegates from the English, French, and Russian consulates were appointed to attend the commission, and at the second sitting held at Moush, on January 26, 1895, they made what according to European ideas of justice was the natural request that the com-

missioners, before inquiring into any other matter, should take evidence as to the massacre of Armenians by Turks. The commissioners however alleged that according to their instructions from the Porte they were only to inquire 'into the criminal proceedings of the Armenian brigands'; they denied that there had been any massacre of Armenians, and rejected the request of the delegates. The commission sat from January 24 to July 21 at Moush, some fifteen to thirty miles from the seat of the massacre, and held one hundred and eight sittings. They declined to listen to the Christian witnesses brought forward by the delegates and would only accept the testimony of Turks who had been carefully instructed to give such evidence as would prove that the Armenians were alone to blame. Witnesses who ventured to give evidence in favour of the Armenians atoned for their rashness by immediate imprisonment. The consular delegates at last refused to have anything more to do with this farce; they therefore went to Sassoun, and by evidence there obtained established the terrible facts, and the innocence of the peaceful Armenian population. We are about to engage in an inquiry not concerning one but concerning hundreds of massacres which, since October in last year, have been uninterruptedly taking place in Armenia. We prefer not to follow the example of the Turkish commission, but to adopt a practice more in accordance with the elementary principles of justice. First, then, we must ascertain the facts, and when they have been

established we shall be in a position to consider what inferences should be drawn from them. What, then, are the facts? After long-continued pressure had been brought to bear on the Sultan by the Christian Powers, especially by England, France, and Russia, to induce him to put into force the reforms which had been promised seventeen years earlier to the Armenian Provinces, he decided in the autumn of last year to give up his opposition and to accept the plan of reform which had been presented to him for the six Armenian provinces of Erzeroum, Bitlis, Van, Mamuret-ul-Aziz (Harpout), Diarbekir, and Sivas. In order to pacify England, the Sultan wrote to Lord Salisbury and gave him his word that the reforms should be literally and immediately carried out.

On September 30, 1895, the Armenians of Constantinople desired to give emphasis to the pressure of the Powers for the fulfilment of the promises of the Berlin Treaty, by presenting a petition to the Grand Vizier in which the complaints and demands of the Armenian people were set down. A procession of 2000 Armenians made its way through the streets of Stamboul towards the Sublime Porte. The police were instructed to prevent the presentation of the petition, and the authorities had arranged that a counter demonstration should take place, consisting of a large number of Softas and Turks armed with sticks. After a fray, in which shots were exchanged, the Armenians were dispersed by the police, some of them being shot by the gendarmes in the streets and others stabbed in the police stations. During the night Armenian

khans were stormed. Five hundred Armenians were afterwards arrested, and a general panic drove the Armenian population to seek refuge in their churches. This terrible occurrence was the signal for hundreds of other massacres which one after the other were carried out in all those six provinces which were to have been made happy by reform. Besides this, in four other provinces, the Christian population was also decimated in the most frightful way, and those who survived the massacres had to choose between starvation and apostasy. Over the most fruitful provinces of the Turkish Empire, a country as large as Germany, a stream of blood and desolation was poured forth which was intended to destroy a whole Christian people.

The following statistics, which, however, are not thoroughly exhaustive, are taken in the main from the report presented by the six Ambassadors to the Sultan on February 4, 1896, and are reinforced by accounts given by European eye-witnesses, consuls, travellers, merchants, etc.

#### MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF TREBIZOND

*8th October.*—After the Christian quarter of the town of Trebizond had been attacked on October 4 and 5 by 3000 armed Mohammedans from the town and villages, a massacre took place on October 8, in which about 600 Armenians perished, while the number of Mohammedans slain was twenty. The massacre commenced at 12 and ended at 3, the signal being given by a trumpet.

The Bazaar and the Armenian quarter were plundered, and the loss of property amounted to about £200,000. The consuls were able to establish the fact that 'there had been no provocation of any kind from the Armenians,' while there was clear proof that, with the connivance of the authorities, the matter had been previously arranged by the Mohammedans who, the day before, had been making large purchases of weapons and had attempted to get possession of a depôt of arms. The authorities allowed the pillage to continue till the evening. In Trebizond and its neighbourhood alone, the number of those who were deprived of all means of subsistence amounted to from 3000 to 4000.

In the country districts about Trebizond, Gumush-Hane (October 25 and 26), Samsoun (December 7), and Aghdja-Guney (December 14 and 15), as far as we know, thirty-four villages were destroyed and about 2100 Christians murdered.

#### MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF ERZEROU

It has been proved conclusively that, on October 30, after quite open preparations on the part of the Mohammedan population, which, in spite of the efforts of the consuls, were not hindered by the authorities, the armed populace, assisted by officers and soldiers, attacked the Armenian quarter of the town of Erzeroum; 1500 shops and some hundreds of houses were plundered; and 1200 Christians and twelve Turks were killed

during the massacre in the town and its neighbourhood. The authorities did not interfere until the shops were completely plundered and their owners murdered. The massacre and the pillage were continued during the night, and in the more remote parts of the town during the following night also. In the district of Terdjan, 40 villages were plundered and destroyed, and many Christians slain; in the district of Passen, 14 villages were plundered, and 140 Armenians killed; in the district of Ova, 23 villages were destroyed and plundered; in the district of Keghi, 9 villages were plundered.

In the town of Erzingjan, 700 Christians were killed in the massacre of October 21, and 400 wounded, whilst only 7 Turks perished.

On October 27, in the town of Baiburt, all the Armenian men except 20 were either killed or imprisoned. The number of slain reached 1000. In the neighbourhood of Baiburt, 165 villages were plundered and entirely destroyed.

In Narzahan, 100 Armenians were killed; in Ksanta, 400; in Bayazed, 500; there was no loss of life among the Turks.

In Baiburt, to go more into detail, 14 women were burnt with their infants, 100 women were mutilated, and 50 young women killed themselves in order to escape outrage.

As we shall have to return to this point later, we need not now do more than mention the fact that in all these massacres numberless women and girls were outraged. Some villages escaped by paying ransom money up to 120 pounds Turkish.

With these exceptions, all the Armenian villages of the province were either plundered or destroyed. Everywhere the authorities countenanced the pillage. The soldiers took part both in the massacres and the plunder, and forced the survivors to become Mohammedans.

#### MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF BITLIS

The Turks, as they left their mosque on October 25, attacked the Armenians, as the Report of the Ambassadors<sup>1</sup> establishes, without any provocation on their part. The blowing of a bugle marked the commencement and the end of the massacre. The number of Armenians slain was 900; according to the account of the Turkish officials, 39 Mohammedans perished.

In the districts of Sassoun, Talori, Moush, Seert, Yerum, Chirvan, Guzel Dere, Seghjerd, Gindj, and Djabagh, numberless villages, inhabited not only by Armenians, but also by Syrians, Chaldeans, and Jacobites, were plundered by armed bands of Mohammedans, and their inhabitants massacred. The Turkish officials are answerable for the massacre.

#### MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF VAN

In 25 districts, 543 villages were completely plundered and for the most part destroyed. We have before us exhaustive lists of the villages and of the ruined houses and convents. In the vilayet of Van, in contrast to the other vilayets,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 291.

the dead can be counted merely by hundreds, owing to the fact that there the instruments of destruction were principally Kurds, not Turks, who, contrary to the wish of the authorities, confined themselves to plunder, whilst the latter (and this is the case in all the provinces) were more intent on murder. In the later massacres this indulgence was made up for.

According to the latest account in the *Frankfort Journal* of the 15th of August, in Van itself over 1000 were slain between the 14th and 22nd of June in this year. In the country districts the number of dead is reckoned to be 20,000 at least.

The number of those who without assistance are dying of hunger amounted in May in the town of Van to 13,000, in the country districts to 70,000. We may remark that in the vilayet of Van and in two districts of Bitlis, 236 churches and 53 convents were plundered, and for the most part destroyed; whilst 245 villages were forcibly converted to Islam, and 116 churches were turned into mosques. The lists that lie before us do not include all the districts of the vilayet. It is hardly necessary to mention that the newly formed Hamidieh regiment (irregular Kurdish cavalry) took a principal part in the work of plunder.

#### MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF MAMURET- UL-AZIZ

On the 10th and 11th of November, the Turks, without any provocation, attacked the Armenian

quarter of Harpout and slew the peaceful inhabitants. The Ambassadors' Report proves that officers and soldiers took part in the pillage; they also assisted at the massacre with guns and cannon. A bomb-shell exploded in one of the houses of the Protestant Mission, the whole property of which (six mission-houses and schools) was destroyed. At the massacre in Harpout 900 Armenians were killed; whilst, according to the report of the Vali of Erzeroum, only twelve Mohammedans lost their lives. The number of wounded was enormous. The Kurds declare that the authorities acted with them, and this is confirmed by the Ambassadors' Report. More than 60 villages in the neighbourhood of Harpout were destroyed. The number of lives lost is incalculable, as the Christian population in that region is very numerous.

A caravan of 200 Armenians who had been sent from Adana to their home at Harpout was attacked by Kurds, who killed 193; while the escort of gendarmes, instead of protecting the Armenians, took part in the plunder. There is not one Christian church or school left in the 60 villages round Harpout. Only a single Christian priest remains, the others have been all killed or 'converted.' In Harpout alone, 200 families were forced to become Mohammedans. In Arabkir, armed Kurds and Turks attacked the Christians and plundered the town. According to the Ambassadors' Report, the plunder and burning lasted for ten days; about 3700 houses and 500 shops were looted, and 4000 Armenians killed.



According to the official Turkish report, 60 Mohammedans perished. After the conflagration was over, the police held 'an inquiry, and all the men who had escaped the massacre were thrown into prison' (Ambassadors' Report). The distress amongst the surviving women and children was terrible. The officials doled out bread 'for some days,' and then all help ceased.

The town of Egin was spared after paying £1500. In the massacre of last month, concerning which we have not yet full details, this indulgence was dearly paid for.

On November 4th, in the town of Malatia, armed bands of Turks and Kurds attacked the Christians, who, since the panic of October 29th, had not dared to leave their houses. 'The Governor permitted the massacre and plunder to continue for twenty-four hours,' and even when that time was over he only protected those Catholic Armenians who had taken refuge in their church; the massacre among the Gregorian Armenians was allowed to continue for six days without any hindrance from the officials, till 5000, among whom were many women and children, had been murdered and their houses (about 1000) burnt to the ground.

In all the country districts of the vilayet, villages were plundered and numberless Armenians slain. A report that lies before us gives information of about 176 ruined towns and villages, in which 7542 houses were destroyed, and 512 shops looted. So far as we know at present, the whole number of massacred Christians in this vilayet

amounts to 15,845. The number of those in destitution who, if unassisted, will suffer the most fearful misery, and for the most part die of starvation, cannot be less than 100,000. Up to March of this year, 60,000 persons were supplied with the necessities of life through the European committees of relief. £11,000 was distributed. At least £10,000 is necessary if the utterly destitute people are to be kept alive till winter. It only remains to be said that in this vilayet the surviving population in order to avoid further massacres adopted the religion of Islam.

#### MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF DIARBEEKIR

The following is taken from the Report of the Ambassadors: 'The Kurds from the country arrived in the town on the morning of the 1st of November, and joining the Mohammedans, together plundered the Bazaar, set fire to it, and then began to murder the Christians of all denominations. The soldiers, the zaptiehs, and the Kurds all took part in shooting Christians. The butchery lasted three days; before it began the Vali (Governor-General) had promised the French Consul to maintain peace.'

The assertion that the Christians provoked the attack has been proved by the Consul to be false, and there can be no doubt that the Mohammedans made careful preparations for the massacre. The consular buildings were attacked by the Kurds five times, but without success. To restore quiet, the Vali disarmed the Christians and allowed the

Mohammedans to keep their weapons. In Diarbekir 2000 Christians were killed, 1701 houses plundered, and 2448 shops burnt. The material loss may be reckoned at two million sterling. All the outlying districts were wasted by the Kurds: the number of those whose families were decimated and whose villages were destroyed amounts to about 30,000. Besides those who are known to have been murdered, 1000 Christians who belonged to the town and 1000 villagers who worked in the town have disappeared; 119 villages of the Sandjak were plundered and burnt. The other districts of the vilayet met with the same fate. In the district of Severeke alone, 176 villages were destroyed. In the monastery of Magha-payetzotz 300 refugees were murdered. In the districts and neighbourhood of Selivan and Hyne, 105 churches were plundered and turned into mosques, and throughout the whole vilayet the surviving inhabitants of the Gregorian villages, and also those of one orthodox Greek village, were forcibly converted; also the large Catholic Armenian village of Telarmen was entirely plundered. The town of Mardin, though in great danger, was up till then spared. Cholera has broken out among the survivors.

#### MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF SIVAS

In the vilayet of Sivas, since the beginning of November, armed bands of Kurds and Mohammedans have roamed over the country destroying everything by fire. 'The Vali is not able to

obtain authority from the Porte to take effective measures' (Ambassadors' Report).

The massacre in the town of Sivas began at noon on November 12th, and lasted three hours; it was continued on the 14th. The shops of the Armenians were looted and their retail trade destroyed. The number of victims reached 2000. In the evening of the day of the massacre, muezzins from the top of the minarets called down the blessing of Allah on the butchery. For a circuit of ten kilometres round the town all Armenian villages were laid waste.

On November 12th, the town of Gurun was besieged by 2000 Kurds, or, as some think, by disguised Redifs (Reserves); it was taken after four days and reduced to ashes. A thousand Armenian houses were burnt and the number of victims was over 2000. On the 28th of November, fourteen days after the massacre, 1200 corpses were still lying unburied in the streets (Ambassadors' Report); 150 women and young girls were carried off by the Kurds; rape is a feature of all the massacres. There are now in Gurun 5075 people unable to obtain daily bread. Slaughter and pillage took place in Shabin-Kara-Hissar-Sharki from October 27th to 29th. On November 1st, 2000 persons, for the most part women and children, who had sought refuge in the Armenian Church were murdered. The number of victims outside the town amounted to more than 3000. Thirty villages were plundered, and from 40 to 50 per cent. of the inhabitants killed. Amongst the towns we may mention

Amasia with 1000 dead (all shops and offices pillaged), Marsivan 500 dead (400 houses and shops pillaged), Vezir-Keupru, 200 dead (300 houses plundered), Zileh, 200 dead (300 houses and 200 shops pillaged). All the country districts of the vilayet were laid waste and the survivors forced to become Mohammedans; in Gasma alone 655 persons. The number of destitute people in the vilayet amounts, according to trustworthy information, to 180,000. The relief committees are quite unable to cope with the distress.

These are the six vilayets in which the Sultan, before the commencement of the massacres, had pledged himself to introduce reforms. Massacres also took place in the neighbouring vilayets of Aleppo, Adana, and Angora. In the vilayet of Ismidt, opposite Constantinople, a massacre of the Armenian population of Ak-Hissar took place on the 3rd of October (50 killed, material loss about £15,000).

#### MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF ALEPPO

The vilayet of Aleppo is one in which there has been a very great loss of life, owing to the wholesale massacres in the towns of Aintab, Ourfa, Biredjik, Marash, etc. We merely note the number of victims—Biredjik, 96; Killis, 216; El-Oghlu, 250; Albistan, 300; Yenidje-Kale, 600; Aintab, 1000; Marash, 1390; Ourfa, 10,000. Zeitoun is the only town in the whole district of the massacres which, through the entire winter, offered a desperate, but finally successful re-

sistance. 20,000 Armenians had taken refuge in the town, and it was besieged, but not captured, by an enormous number of Turkish troops. At last the European consuls intervened, and the inhabitants of Zeitoun were granted an amnesty. During the siege, however, 6000 people perished by hunger and the sword, not to mention hundreds who died in the mountains. A caravan of refugee Armenians was surrounded by Turkish troops between Zeitoun and Marash, and 3720 men, women, and children were murdered. The consuls affirm that in Ourfa, Biredjik, Severeck, and Adiaman 5900 persons were forcibly converted to Islam. No Christians are left in Biredjik. The number of those who can only be saved from starvation through the European committees of relief amounts, in this vilayet, to 47,000. Comparatively speaking, little is known about the country districts. The order of the massacres was the same everywhere—the unsuspecting Christians were either suddenly attacked by armed bands supported by the military, or else they were robbed of their arms by the authorities in the most perfidious way, and then slaughtered like a flock of sheep. The efforts of the consuls to prevent the massacres were hindered by the government officials.

According to the report of the ambassadors, the soldiers, Redifs, and Hamidihs, took a principal part in the massacres and pillage, and were led by their officers to attack the Christians.

## MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF ADANA

In the vilayet of Adana, owing to the presence of American and French warships, the towns of Mersina, Tarsus, and Adana were spared. They were threatened three times, but the Vali, in consequence of the personal intervention of the admiral, was afraid to allow any outbreak. To make up for this, in the country districts of Adana, 20 villages and farmhouses were plundered, and in the country about Pajas 16 villages and 1809 houses and farms were all the more thoroughly devastated. The Vali went on a circuit round the vilayet, and as soon as he left a village the pillage began. At the same time he assured the commander of the French cruiser *Le Linois* that there had been no disturbances in the vilayet. Everywhere the Christians were deprived of their arms, whilst the Mohammedans were allowed to retain theirs. The material loss in the district of Pajas is reckoned at £50,000. In Taurus many square miles of vineyards were destroyed by the Mohammedans. The number of those in great distress, amongst whom are 7000 refugees from other districts, is about 17,000.

## MASSACRES IN THE VILAYET OF ANGORA

A terrible massacre took place on the 30th November in the vilayet of Angora without any provocation from the Armenians, of whom 1000 were slain and 600 wounded. 200 shops of the

Bazaar were completely plundered; and an attack was made on the women's bath-house. There were massacres in Yuzgat, Ishorun, and Hadji-Kor; in the latter place 90 people were murdered; in Yuzgat all the inhabitants perished. Forty-five villages of the vilayet were plundered. The village of Ekrek, with 800 houses, and that of Mundjursum, with 1000 houses, were both razed to the ground after the murder of all their inhabitants. The authorities made no attempt to stop the conflagrations caused by the Circassians, but, on the contrary, permitted them. Out of 12 mobilised battalions 8 mutinied and the soldiers deserted. One of the superior officers of the garrison at Cæsarea declared that, if the authorities had not prevented him, he could easily have suppressed the revolt and stopped the massacre. Another regretted the late intervention of the authorities, and said that if they had not been prevented they would have extirpated the Armenians. The part taken by the military, by command of the highest officials in all the vilayets, throws the strongest light on the origin of the massacres, especially as the consular report from all the vilayets establish the fact that no sort of provocation, not to speak of revolts and revolutionary attempts, was given by the Armenians. Zeitoun was a special case, but, when closely inquired into, even there the Armenians were freed from blame.

The result of our statistical review, drawn from thoroughly reliable sources, though it cannot be called final, as from many country districts we

have at present no accurate reports, is as follows:—

Killed in the massacres, about 85,000.

Towns and villages laid waste, about 2500.

Churches and convents destroyed, 568.

Forced to adopt the Mohammedan faith, 559 villages, with all their surviving inhabitants and hundreds of families in the towns.

Churches turned into mosques, 282.

Number of those without means of subsistence, about 500,000.

These figures only give the extent of our statistical information; a full statement of the facts would be much more terrible.

When we think of the thousands in the unregistered villages who were murdered or died of their wounds, or who perished trying to escape, or succumbed to hunger or disease and were buried in the mountains under the winter snow, we shall be understating the number of victims of the Armenian massacres if we reckon it to be 100,000.

## 2. FACTS FOR STRONG NERVES

In our first statement we were only able to give statistics. Figures are dry. The reader's eye glances quickly over the summary of a few hundreds or thousands of deaths, or of over 10,000 or 100,000 destitute people; a cipher more or less makes but little difference to our feelings. It is necessary to enliven the subject by showing, in a few cases at least, how these dry figures look

in their brutal reality. Some may blame us for dragging to light things that the eye would gladly avoid seeing, and for not shrinking from the exposure of such ghastly facts. But the ordeal to the reader's nerves is small, while the hecatombs of blood, torture, and tears of which we desire to give some idea have, in fact, strained human power of endurance to the utmost limit in the case of hundreds of thousands of men and women. If it were true, as might be concluded from many utterances of our semi-official press, that these crying deeds of shame and infamy are nothing more than the idle fancies of English diplomatists and press correspondents who desire, from time to time, 'to regale Europe with a new edition of Armenian atrocities,' our statements are open to the same blame as theirs. But if the facts are true, then no political considerations should keep us from facing them. We must beg the reader of the following statement to remember that the Armenian massacres, in which 100,000 innocent people have perished, were directed against a peaceful and defenceless nation. All that has been published in our papers about revolutionary attempts of Armenians against the Turkish Government is entirely false, so far as the blame was laid on the Armenian nation, and not on certain agitators in London, Paris, Athens, or Constantinople. We shall return to this point, meanwhile we need only refer to the Ambassadors' Report. The figures alone are sufficiently convincing. How is the fact to be explained that, whilst hundreds

and thousands of murdered Armenians are mentioned in that report, only a very small number of Mohammedans fell? The list of the latter is taken from the official Turkish report. We need only place the figures from these two reports side by side, and leave our readers to draw their own conclusions.

|                  | Mohammedans. | Armenians. |
|------------------|--------------|------------|
| Trebizond, . . . | 20           | 800        |
| Erzeroum, . . .  | 12           | 900        |
| Erzingjan, . . . | 7            | 1000       |
| Bitlis, . . .    | 39           | 900        |
| Harpout, . . .   | 12           | 900        |
| Arabkir, . . .   | 60           | 4000       |
| Sivas, . . .     | (10)         | 1400       |
| Aintab, . . .    | 50           | 1000       |

If the Armenians were the aggressors, it is strange that in almost every case it should be they and not the Turks who have suffered spoliation and death. But we must come to the massacres. There can be no doubt that the Turks enjoyed the work of massacre, and carried it out with admirable exactness, according to a previously arranged programme, with processions, blowing of trumpets, and prayers from the Mullah, who from the highest minarets invoked the blessing of Allah on the butchery. The people, armed by the authorities, were delighted to take their share in the work of murder side by side with the military, the Redifs (Reserves), the Zaptiehs (Gendarmes), and the lately formed, Kurdish Irregulars, called the Hamidieh-Regi-

ment after the reigning Sultan. Every one was in the best humour. The Turkish women encouraged their warriors by shouting the guttural Turkish war-cry, and drowned the shrieks of the victims with festive songs. A savage and murderous spirit took possession of the people. And what else could be expected? Here an officer urged them on with the cry, 'Down with the Armenians, it is the Sultan's will!' Here a Vali exhorted them to 'Look sharp! kill! plunder! and pray for the Sultan!' What inducement had they to cease from murder—or from prayer! The reward of piety lay before their eyes, for all that they could seize and carry away was to be their own—wares piled up in the shops of Armenian merchants and valuables collected in their houses. The Government took care that the faithful and obedient subjects should not be called to account for their deeds of infamy; the work of destruction was made as easy as possible, and to murder an Armenian was no greater crime than to kill a sheep in the shambles. The valour of the populace and soldiery was not checked by any thought of risk to their own lives. They could give full rein to their delight in the massacres and the orgies which followed them. The monotonous work of dragging hundreds of defenceless Armenians out of their houses and hiding-places merely to behead, stab, throttle, hang, or beat them, soon palled. The merry mob wanted variety. Simple murder became dull, and the business must now be made more amusing. How would it do to

light a fire and roast the wounded at it? to gibbet a few head-downwards? drive nails into others? or tie fifty of them together and fire into the coil? What has an Armenian so many limbs for, if not to hack off and cram into his mouth? Putting out eyes and cutting off ears and noses was a special accomplishment. Christian priests who refused to become Mohammedans were considered particularly worthy of this fate. Any one who denies it can see in the appendix the list of the poor creatures who perished in this way. But, after all, these were simple methods, and claimed no credit for ingenuity. Petroleum and kerosene were at hand. It is true that the authorities only intended them to be used for the purpose of burning down houses and destroying grain. But why not put them to other and more useful purposes? There was a certain photographer, by name Mardiros, who had a fine beard, petroleum was poured over it and set on fire. Several Christians were gathered together, kerosene poured over them, and, as they burnt, others were thrown into the fumes and suffocated. A woman with luxuriant hair had gunpowder sprinkled on it, and her head was blown off. In a monastery at Kaghtzorhayatz, an Effendi, by name Abdullah, had a young man and a girl placed close together and with one stroke cut off both their heads. But both sword and fire can be dispensed with. The Kurdish sheikh, Djevher of Gabars, proved this by binding two brothers with ropes and pegging them to the ground with stakes. The backward were urged on by rivalry,

and it became an object of ambition to count heads struck off by a single hand. The baker in Kesserik who had already murdered ninety-seven Armenians, which he proved by exhibiting their ears and noses, declared that he would not rest till he had brought up the number to 100. But he found his master in Hadji Begos of Tadem, who had butchered more than 100 Christians, and who, as a sign of his prowess, cut a woman into four pieces and put them up on posts to public view. The butcher of Aintab, who stuck the heads of six Armenians on his spit, was outdone by the Turk at Subaschigulp, who slaughtered Armenians like sheep and hung their bodies on meat-hooks. The people of Trebizond brought out the humour of the thing; they shot Adam, the Armenian butcher, and his son, cut them in pieces, stuck the limbs separately on sticks and offered them for sale to passers-by: 'Who will buy an arm, a leg, feet, or hands? cheap! who will buy?' But innocence must be spared. 'The Sultan had commanded that Christians under seventeen should not be killed.' But who heeds such caution? And why spare the useless families of children left behind by their flying parents; they could only wander about in terror and confusion through the mountainous country surrounding Moush, or else, naked and cold, come to beg in the streets of the town. The Mohammedans of a large village in Marash, saved at least one small child from this fate by throwing it into the fire. In Baiburt the destroyers were merciful enough



in fourteen houses to burn the babies with their mothers. Ohannes Avakian, a rich citizen of Trebizond, offered the raging mob all his possessions if they would spare his family and himself. His three-year-old child was in his arms. Both were murdered before the eyes of the mother and the other children, and then the crowd seized the spoil. A valiant Turk thinks nothing of strangling children on the knees of their mothers. To play at ball with a baby, and toss it from one bayonet to another before its mother's eyes seemed pleasant sport for the soldiers of Bitlis. The people of Erzeroum amused themselves by killing two boys on the mutilated corpse of their father, into whose wounds vinegar had been poured. Although it is a fact that dozens of women and children perished in all the massacres, that in Ksanta and Lessonk a hundred women were mutilated, that amongst the victims at Bitlis were the little boys (aged from five to twelve) of the Church School of Surp Serkias, we must do the Turks the justice to acknowledge that these cruelties were not *invariably* approved by the head officials. And if among the reports of large numbers of towns and villages we read that in some cases even children in the womb were not spared, but that the most horrible cruelties were perpetrated upon them and their mothers, we must ascribe this *not always to express orders*, but to individual wickedness and barbarity. The populace went beyond their actual instructions when we find that amongst the 450 corpses buried in the cemetery at

Sivas all the women had been mutilated. As a rule, however, the authorities did nothing to check the bloodthirstiness of the masses, and, whenever the work of murder was too great for the people alone, the soldiers were speedily summoned to help. Many of the flying Armenians were simple enough to believe that their churches would be a place of safety, that in the sanctuary they would be spared. But as hundreds of churches and convents had to be reduced to ashes since the aim was to do away with every trace of the hated Christian faith, what mattered the trifling fact that men, women, and children were inside them? In Ressuan the doors of the church were broken open and all the refugees murdered. Three hundred Armenians escaped to the monastery of Magha-payetzwotz only to be butchered with the brotherhood. In Indises (district of Luk-Shehri), in Haburs, and Bussu (district of Harpout) the churches were burnt over the heads of the Christians; but here we cannot blame the people, for the soldiers set the example. In Schabin Kara Hissar more regard was paid to the church, the 2000 people who had taken refuge there were at least killed outside the doors! A boundless field for the murderous fancy of the populace was opened by the question of disposing of the dead bodies of thousands of murdered Armenians. Needless to say, there was no feeling of reverence for the majesty of death. It is worthy of record that the dead bodies of Christians were dragged naked out of the towns and villages, horribly mutilated, and then cast out in heaps on the

streets, or on dung-hills, or thrown into streams and drains, till asses and Jews were requisitioned to carry the corpses away like the carrion of dead animals. Among the mass of mutilated human flesh no one was able to recognise his own dead. When the dead bodies were not left as food for dogs, or when they were not burned with petroleum, a hole was dug into which they were thrown in a mass. But to men of importance special funeral honours were paid. The priest Mattheos of Busseyid, had his head cut off and placed between his legs, and the young Turks of the town amused themselves by flogging the body. The priest, Der-Harutian of Diarbekir, and his colleague from the church at Alipunar, together with ten other priests from the district of Tadem, had the skin flayed from their bodies. A special monument was erected to the Abbot Sahag, prior of the monastery of Surp Katch in the district of Kizan, and to his young assistant; their skins were stuffed with straw and hung on trees. The Turks of Arabkir with an imagination worthy of Nero set up the heads of Armenians in rows on long poles, and the commander of the gendarmes at Baiburt, who, on the 26th of October, received from the women of the village of Ksanta £500 in money and jewels as a ransom for the lives of their husbands, and who, a few days later, changed his mind, and, collecting together in a field the women and children of the village, had them all pitilessly slaughtered, is worthy of being chief of Tamerlane's bodyguard. At the beginning of

the disturbance the inhabitants of twelve villages north and west of Marash fled for refuge to the town of Turnus with the intention of escaping from thence to the mountains near Zeitoun. About 4000 of them were suddenly one morning surrounded by soldiers. A terrible butchery began, and all were slain except 380 women and children; these were collected together and driven by the soldiers for two days like a flock of sheep to Marash. The Government of the Sultan must show how merciful it could be to the innocent, even though these unfortunate women were obliged in the month of December to wade through the mountain snow and to leave many of their starving children by the wayside, as no halt was permitted. One mother tells us that when she could not carry her two children any longer, she put them on a horse that belonged to the soldiers, and at the next river the little ones were thrown into the water. Would it not have been more merciful to have slain all the 4000 together?

Has not enough blood been shed? When will the cry of this tortured people reach the ear of Christendom? What answer will those Christian Powers make who, eighteen years ago, stretched a protecting hand over Armenia and presented her with paper reforms, signed and sealed in the name of the Almighty? But enough of this, for there is yet another page of horror to be disclosed. 'Kill the men! Their wives, their daughters, and their property are ours.' That was the watchword with which the

soldiers in Cæsarea urged on the armed mob to murder, plunder, and outrage. And this watchword was heard and obeyed in all the hundreds of towns and villages where the work of murder was carried out. Even before the commencement of the massacres the shameless Turkish soldiers had dared to ask the Christian mothers to keep their daughters for them, saying that soon all the Christian girls in the country would belong to them.

We must already reckon the number of slain at 85,000, and the death-list is not nearly closed.

But who can count all the deeds of shame and infamy, who can number the tens of thousands who were driven into the mountains, sold into harems, exposed in the slave-markets, or who, after having been outraged, were secretly murdered?

It seems necessary to give some idea of the shame and dishonour to which even at the present time women are daily exposed. The scoundrel Hadji Begos, who boasted of having killed a hundred Armenians with his own hand, hunted a Christian girl naked through the streets of the town. The people of Cæsarea, who burnt thirty Armenians' houses with their inhabitants, also helped to storm the women's baths at the bathing hour. And with what reception did those thirty women of Koschmad meet, who wandered over the mountains without any clothes, till they reached Shinag and fell into the hands of the soldiers there? But that was nothing unusual. There was no massacre in which the murder of the men was not followed by outrages on the

women and girls; no plunder in which they were not offered for sale, carried off as spoil, exchanged for horses and donkeys, or exposed in the slave-market. In every village where soldiers were billeted, either for the protection (?) or the murder of the inhabitants, the Agas or officers distributed the girls among the Zaptiehs and soldiers.

Not safe in their own houses under the eye of their husbands, who had often, bound to door-posts, to witness their fate, outraged and robbed of all protection, hunted from house to house till they fell a prey to dishonour—that, Christian women, is the fate of your sisters in Armenia.

Which of the two do you pity most—the widowed or orphaned girl cowering among rags in some corner of her ruined home, trembling at every footstep of a man, be he Turk or Kurd, who may force his way in and outrage her before her children, or her brothers and sisters; or that other girl who, distinguished perhaps for beauty, has pleased the eye of some Turkish Aga, and, in spite of her cries and tears, has been dragged into his harem, and forced to give up at once her honour and her faith? Can we understand now what drove hundreds of Armenian women to suicide? Or why those fifty women of Lessonk and Ksanta threw themselves into the wells, or leapt from the edge of precipices? We can realise the horror that filled the soul of that high-born Armenian lady who was carried off with a troop of women and children and a few men from Uzoun Oba (twenty-five miles east of Harpout). When they reached the banks of the

Euphrates, she called to her companions, and, rushing to the river, threw herself in. That dishonour is worse than death is proved by the fact, that fifty-five women and children followed her example, and perished in the waters.

Who would not feel compassion for the unfortunate old man who thus expresses his nameless grief in a letter to his son:—‘Oh, I dare not tell you . . . they came and threatened to kill me if I refused to give up your sister. After they had taken everything else—blankets, beds, clothes, provisions, and even fuel—they returned to demand our daughter. I was prepared to withstand them to the end, but when she saw that they were about to kill me, she threw herself at their feet, and cried out: “Spare my father! Here I am!”’

Admirers of Turkish army organisation and of Mohammedan civilisation ought to know that even the brutality of the Kurdish hordes and the cynicism of the townspeople were thrown completely into the shade by the infamous conduct of the soldiers and officers.

Although it fills me with disgust to dip my pen into this sink of corruption, I feel it is necessary that the world should know what deeds are done in this home of promised reforms by the guardians of law and order.

The truth of the following short account is established by two independent testimonies which lie before me:—‘In the village of Husseyinik (vilayet of Harpout), six hundred soldiers (and where there are soldiers, there are also officers)

collected together in the military dépôt about the same number of women and young girls; they first outraged them, and then murdered the unhappy victims of their horrible lust.’

Does not this blood cry to Heaven? And even though the kings of the earth be deaf to its cry, will not God hear?

### 3. RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN TURKEY

Religious liberty exists in the Turkish Empire on a basis of treaties. After the Crimean War the Sultan, Abdul Medjid, solemnly declared that he wished to improve the condition of his Christian subjects, and on the strength of the Hatti-Humayoun, or firman, of the 18th of February 1856, the Porte was admitted to the Concert of the great European Powers. The following decree of the Sublime Porte was included in the Treaty of Paris, in order to place the religious toleration promised to all subjects under the guarantee of the Powers: ‘All forms of religion shall be allowed to exist publicly in my realm, without let or hindrance, and no subject of my empire shall be impeded in the exercise of his faith. No one shall be forced to renounce his faith.’

The religious liberty thus secured was confirmed afresh, in Article 62 of the Berlin Treaty, by the Plenipotentiaries of the present Sultan, Abdul Hamid II.: ‘As the Sublime Porte has expressed its willingness to maintain the principle of religious liberty, and to give the same

the widest scope, the Treaty Powers take cognisance of this voluntary declaration. . . . All persons shall be admitted, without distinction of creed, to give evidence before tribunals; the public exercise of all religions shall be absolutely free; and the hierarchical organisations of the different religious communions, or their relation to their spiritual superiors, shall not be interfered with. Ecclesiastics, pilgrims, and monks of all nationalities, travelling in European or Asiatic Turkey, shall enjoy the same rights, advantages, and privileges. The right of official protection shall be secured to the diplomatic and consular agents of the Powers in Turkey, both in respect of the above-mentioned persons together with their religious and benevolent institutions, and of others in sacred institutions and elsewhere.'

A German daily paper of some standing wrote last year, when the massacre at Sassoun was under discussion: 'In the absence of other reasons for European intervention, the English and American press has been obliged to take up the Christian religion of the Armenians. Gladstone, indeed, on the occasion of the farce of the reception of the deputation from Sassoun, did not shrink from speaking of the "Armenians persecuted for their Christian faith." That is a palpable falsehood. What reason could the Porte have had for suddenly setting on foot a religious persecution, when in the course of hundreds of years it had taken no notice of the Armenian religion? As a matter of fact, a genuine persecution of Christians has never (!) taken place

in the Turkish Empire. Moreover, it would be the most imprudent thing the Porte could do to increase the manifold difficulties of its position by a religious persecution. Any one who has studied the elements of Turkish history must admit that on principle it has been the policy, setting aside isolated encroachments, to exercise the most absolute religious toleration. Indeed, in view of the multitude of religions, faiths, and sects in this great empire, this is a mere precept of self-preservation.'

It is worth while to reproduce this pregnant summary of a widespread opinion, unbiassed as it is by any knowledge of the subject, for still the German press daily tells the same tale. We will not attempt to show in detail the state of things which this 'most absolute toleration,' in accordance with Mohammedan religious law, has brought about in the Turkish Empire during the course of hundreds of years. We leave it to all those who are acquainted with the religious and missionary history of the East, as well as the present religious condition of Turkey, to bring their knowledge and experience into harmony with the oracular assurances quoted above. We confine ourselves to Armenia, and here we must indeed agree that it not only would be, but was, the most imprudent thing the Porte could do, to inaugurate a persecution of Christianity. For the Christians number one-third of the subjects of His Majesty the Sultan, and—if we weigh instead of counting them—in intelligence, education, practical ability, and moral

energy, they make up two-thirds of the entire population of the Turkish Empire. A journalist is accustomed to view great historical movements merely in the light of a superficial series of cause and effect within the sphere of daily political events, and to treat religious and moral forces not only as *imponderabilia* but as a *quantité négligeable*. We cannot blame him, then, if he is ignorant that the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the 'manifold difficulties of its position' can be traced back in every case to the opposition between Islam and Christianity, as well as to the circumstance that the religious law of Islam—which during the last decades has been more than ever the standard of Ottoman policy—does not admit equality of civil rights, and that any concession in this direction from the Porte can only be granted 'in principle,' *i.e.* on paper. Perhaps the study of Moltke's writings in this connection might still be serviceable.

What are the Armenian massacres then? A conflict of race? No, for during centuries the Turks have managed to get on more or less well with their Armenian subjects. A national rising? No, for the Armenian population in Armenia neither knows, nor wishes to know, anything of the political propaganda of certain agitators who, in London, Paris, or Constantinople, form revolutionary clubs and issue political pamphlets. A persecution of the Christians? Not simply this, for there was no immediate provocation. Then what do the Armenian horrors mean? Without any question their origin was purely political, or

to state it more exactly, they were an administrative measure. But facts go to prove that, considering the character of the Mohammedan people, whose very political passions are roused only by religious motives, this administrative measure must, and did, take the form of a religious persecution on a gigantic scale. Are we then, simply because of the political origin of this religious persecution, to be forbidden to speak of the Armenians as 'persecuted on account of their religious belief'? If so, there have never been any religious persecutions in the world, for all such without exception have been associated with political movements, and even the death of Christ was nothing but a political event, for political motives turned the balance at His condemnation.

Perhaps the following facts, hitherto only very insufficiently estimated by the German press, may suffice to place the whole Armenian question in a different light. The Ambassadors' Report already proves that in some twenty towns and villages and, among these, in the large cities of Bitlis, Harpout, Egin, Malatia, Cæsarea, and Ourfa, conversions of Christians to Islam took place *en masse*, and that everywhere the threat of further massacres was the motive for these conversions. But the enormous extent of the compulsory conversions to which the survivors throughout the whole region of the massacres were subjected, and are still being subjected, in hundreds of towns and villages, can only be approximately gauged now that we have the

reports from all the districts before us. The number of those who have been forcibly converted during the last ten months under the terrorism of the Mohammedan mob, the incitements of the Moslem clergy, and the open and covert help of the government officials, must have already exceeded 100,000 and will soon reach a second 100,000, if the helpless policy of the Christian Powers continues to foster Mohammedan fanaticism as it has done hitherto. We have lists before us of 559 villages whose surviving inhabitants were converted to Islam with fire and sword, of 568 churches thoroughly pillaged, destroyed, and razed to the ground, of 282 Christian churches transformed into mosques, of 21 Protestant preachers, and 170 Gregorian priests murdered on their refusal to accept Islam, often after enduring unspeakable tortures.

We repeat, however, that these figures express only the extent of our *information*, and do not, by a long way, reach to the extent of the reality. Is this a religious persecution or is it not? Or are any further proofs required of 'the widest religious toleration in the Turkish Empire'? Large totals are sometimes more impressive when dissected into items. In the district, then, of Erzeroum about 15,000 have under threat of death embraced Islam. In that of Harpout, about 15,000 more. In the sixty villages, more or less, of this region, there is not one Christian church, and there is not one school, that still serves its former purpose; and all the priests of those villages have become martyrs or apostates,

so that there is now only a single one left to minister to the handful of Christians that may still be scattered over that region.

In the whole neighbourhood of Baiburt, Christianity has vanished, and, in the remote mountain villages of the district, conversion by the sword makes daily advance, while this gentle propaganda has its conclusion and its seal in public and wholesale circumcision. From all the vilayets in every direction comes in the news of 20, 40, 60 villages converted by threats of death, churches and monasteries destroyed, parish priests and monks murdered. In all the churches which remain standing, the Mullah stands in the chancel and instructs the new converts in the precepts of Islam. The bells are thrown down and from the steeple the Muezzin calls the faithful to prayer. The villages thus converted number hundreds in the four provinces of Sivas, Bitlis, Van and Diarbekir, the district of Egin contributing its 40, the district of Palu 48, Selivan and three others 105, Diarbekir 106, Bitlis 119, and Van no less than 196. 'Islam or death' was the word for all who survived the first massacres. In the whole of the vilayet of Diarbekir only one church, the church of S. Sergius in Diarbekir itself, is used for its appointed purpose. In the four towns of Ourfa, Biredjik, Severeck, Adiaman alone, 5900 Christians, according to the investigations of Vice-Consul Fitzmaurice, have been converted by force. In Biredjik there is not a single Christian where formerly there were 240 Christian families. The most shameful desecra-



tion of the churches everywhere, the pollution of sacred vessels, the destruction or bespattering of pictures, the treading underfoot of sacred oil and wafers, the tearing down of crosses, the spitting on Gospels and Bibles which were then torn into a thousand pieces—these were the mere accessories to the drama of vandalism.

The method adopted for the work of compulsory conversion was everywhere the same, the time alone being left to the discretion of the men who conducted it—officials, officers, Turkish Agas, and Effendis—or to the good pleasure of the Turkish mob. In some towns and villages, even before the outbreak of the massacres, the choice was given of averting the threatened fate by embracing Islam. Thus it was at Ourfa, where the Armenians willing to be converted were invited to hoist white flags on their roofs; at other places raising an arm or a single finger was proposed as a sign of submission to Islam and salvation from death. Very often these offers were delusive, and rich and influential Armenians were not spared even on conversion. In several cases the compulsory conversions were made while the massacres were still going on. In most cases they were the inevitable sequel to the wholesale murder.

Mere threats of death were seldom sufficient; bayonets were pointed at the heart, swords at the throat. When this did not avail tortures were employed. The priests and preachers, especially, who refused to renounce their faith had to endure absolutely inconceivable tortures

before they received the *coup de grace*. The priest Der Hagop of Harpout, became insane when, clad only in his shirt, he saw the swords of fifty soldiers pointed at him. What was to be done with him? As the Mullahs declared that a madman could not be received into Islam he was for the present thrown into prison for contumacy.

In the monastery at Tadem the Venerable Archimandrite Ohannes Papizian had first his hands and afterwards his arms up to the elbows cut off, on his refusal to accept Islam. When, even then, he would not yield, he was beheaded on the pavement of the church. At Biredjik an old man who refused to renounce his faith was thrown down, live coals were heaped upon him, and, when he writhed in his agony, the fiends held a Bible before his eyes, and mockingly bade him read to them some of the promises on which he had pinned his faith.

At Diarbekir, the great stone church of the Syrian order of St. James, in which a number of refugees were sheltering, was surrounded by Kurds who fired on it, broke open the roof, threw down combustibles, and lighted torches, and at last succeeded in bursting open the door. Amid the joyous shouts of the mob the refugees were driven into the open in dense masses and received with a hail of bullets. When the pastor, Jirjis Khather-schian from Egypt, who happened to be visiting his relations, was recognised as an ecclesiastic, he was thrown to the ground, and beaten till he became unconscious. One of the sacred books

scattered around was pushed into his mouth, and he was mockingly called upon to preach a sermon. Burning brands fell on him, and when he was aroused from his unconscious state by the pain, and attempted to crawl away, he was seized and hurled into the blazing fire and burnt to death. Are we not reminded of the heroism of the Maccabees by a mother at Ourfa, who, when an attempt was made to force her sons to renounce their religion, came running up and besought them thus: 'Let them kill you, but do not deny the Lord Jesus'—and the steadfast pair suffered death by the sword. Women and children followed the men to martyrdom. At Bitlis a hundred women whose husbands had been slain were conducted by soldiers to an open place. What was their answer when they were called upon to renounce Jesus and save their lives: 'No, our husbands died for Him, and we will do the same.' They were all massacred.

At Cæsarea, in the massacre of the 30th of November, a Protestant and his daughter of twelve were alone in the house during their mother's absence. A Turk burst into the room where the girl was sitting: 'My child,' said he, 'your father is dead because he would not embrace Islam, now I must make you a Mohammedan, then I will take you to my home and you shall be treated as my daughter. Are you willing?' 'I believe in Jesus,' answered the girl, 'He is my Saviour, and I love Him. I cannot do what you wish, even if you kill me.' Thereupon he fell on the girl in his fury and pierced

and wounded her in twelve different places. What followed is not known. The house was plundered and burnt with the father's corpse lying therein. But the same evening, in another part of the town, a cart drove up to the house where the girl's mother was staying. A neighbour, a kindly disposed Turk, entered and said: 'I have brought you the body of your little daughter. You are a friend of mine, and I could not leave it lying there. I am sorry this has happened.' The mother grasped the unconscious form, and discovered that there was still life in it. A surgeon was called, who restored consciousness, and the child is now convalescent. I could tell many such stories, and the history of the martyrs of the Armenian Church would be well worth writing, seeing that it has added so many thousand to the ranks of those who, throughout the ages, have shed their blood as witnesses for Christ.

If thousands of Armenians have faced death for their religion, it is no wonder that thousands more, reduced to despair by dreadful threats and the horrors of massacre, have tried to save their lives and the lives of those dear to them by a pretended conversion to Islam. Do not these unfortunate creatures, of whom the majority were widows and orphans, deserve our pity even more than the slain who dared to glorify God by their death? We need but read the following letter from one of the higher Armenian clergy, writing to his friend: 'We read the comforting words of your fatherly letter with gratitude and tears.

But for the moment we have all embraced Islam from fear of death by torture. Even I, your unworthy servant, have done so at the age of seventy. After I had several times escaped death, as by a miracle, and now found no other expedient, I simulated submission and accepted their faith, but besought them, on account of my advanced years, to spare me circumcision. But they compelled me under the threat of cutting off my head if I refused. They also threatened me with the most terrible torture if I should return to Christianity, and they dealt with all Christians as they have dealt with me. I can assure you there will be no Christianity left here, unless help comes from some quarter or other.'

Yes, it is indeed so. For all these abject creatures there is no possibility of return to the faith of their fathers. All the tens of thousands who now perform Mohammedan rites in their once Christian churches, all priests forced as Mullahs or Muezzins to insult their former office by proclaiming the name of Mohammed, must cease to bow the knee at the name of Christ. They may not even keep their Christian names. Ohannes, Bedros, Mattheos, have been changed to Mustapha, Achmed, Abdallah. The cunning Turks saw clearly that these compulsory Mohammedans would fall away in better times, so they wisely guarded against such treason to the holy things of Islam. The readiest method was discovered by the Turks of Aivose, who forced a Christian priest to ascend the minaret and, as Muezzin, call the faithful to prayer, and shot him whenever

he came down. The Turks of Garmuri were quite as anxious for the safety of the souls of their converts, and they killed the Christians as they were kneeling for the solemn rite of circumcision. The inhabitants of the village of Plur (district of Baiburt) were speedily promoted to Paradise after they had embraced Islam. Was it not the most merciful way, seeing that, as the Turks asserted, there was every danger that they would still remain Christian at heart, and might fall away later and lose eternal salvation? A less radical, but more ingenious, method of making their conversion irrevocable was adopted in many towns and villages, where the newly-converted families were forced to enter the bonds of marriage with their new fellow-believers. Christian priests need only marry two or three Turkish women in order to be for ever disqualified for their former calling. Would they have any further reason to complain if, in return for this, the Mullahs should have the kindness to divorce their wives and receive them into their own harems? Their religious zeal might safely be trusted to look after their brothers in the faith, to cover their heads with turbans, to lead them in herds to the mosques, and drill them rigidly in the exercise of the Namaz? Woe to him who allows any neglect of ceremonial duties to be laid to his charge! No further pretext is required to condemn him to death as a secret apostate. Sentries are placed day and night over indolent or suspected persons to guard their souls' salvation. The behaviour of the officials was not less phil-

anthropic than that of the mob. What else could they do, when the choice lay between death and Islam, than advise the latter alternative as strongly as possible; especially as their deep political insight into the present state of affairs everywhere, assured them that the Christians had no sort of protection to expect from any foreign power. 'Do not trust the Christians,' said the Turkish officials at Zileh to the leading Armenians who had been summoned to the government offices, for the purpose of forcible conversion. 'Do not trust the Christians of Europe. The English have fled with their fleet, and the Russians have accepted Islam'—certainly an erroneous interpretation of the Russo-Turkish understanding. Did not the governor of Aintab only do his duty when he sent word to the Christians that the only security for life and property was now to become Mohammedan? And who will blame the government authorities of Arabkir for the massacre, lasting ten hours, in which 4000 Christians were murdered, and 3700 houses and 500 shops looted? Had they not two days before summoned the leading Armenians to the government offices and said to them, 'If you wish to live, you must turn to Islam'? They consulted their Christian fellow-citizens, and these declared: 'We will not change our faith, let the government do what it likes with us.' When on the following day the massacres began, who were guilty but the Armenians with their rebellious obstinacy? We have our doubts whether a certain passage quoted above from the Treaty of Paris: 'No

one shall be compelled to renounce his faith,' is known to the provincial officials in Turkey, as the central government in Constantinople does not appear to remember it. But this much is certain—the officials in the provinces as well as the Pashas in the capital know quite well that the ambassadors of the Christian Powers have certain superfluous books in which can be found paragraphs of certain superfluous treaties. In order to save the government of His Majesty the Sultan every possible embarrassment,—for the provinces have a keen scent for the caprices of the palace,—the loyal and far-seeing officials there had long before produced a declaration with countless signatures, in which they affirmed that the conversion of the Christians was just as genuine as the declaration itself, and that their acceptance of Mohammedanism was quite voluntary, and due to their realisation of its advantages. If this be true, of what use are the endless diplomatic representations of the Christian Powers, and who is justified in doubting the good faith of the Sublime Porte?

#### 4. THE *MISE EN SCÈNE* OF THE MASSACRES

Instigation to massacres spreading over eight large provinces, the wholesale looting, accompanied by the compulsory conversion, of an entire Christian population, demand a greater degree of forethought, judgment, and administrative skill, than is needed even in the mobilisation of an army. The tax on the ability of the

originators of such a policy is greatly heightened when their names have to be concealed, when the ostensible aggressor is the populace, and when all traces of violence must at once be cleared away. It must be admitted that the instigators and perpetrators of Armenian massacre have given a brilliant proof of their capability, and have shown a genius for wickedness unexampled even in the history of Turkey.

Who were the instigators? This question in the present stage of our inquiry cannot be answered. Who were the perpetrators? The reader, remembering the facts given in our first section, will already have answered this himself. It is quite clear to any one with an insight into the state of affairs in Armenia that it would be absurd to argue that the civil and military authorities did not control the preparation for the massacres and direct their subsequent outbreak and course, or that any of all the awful series of horrors and crimes occurred without their connivance, compliance, order, or sanction. Editors of well-known European papers either reckon audaciously on the ignorance of their readers, or show themselves very imperfectly informed when they maintain the absurd fiction of an Armenian revolution or of Armenian provocation in the devastated districts. They cannot thus hide from the public the deliberate preparations for the massacres, and the effective execution of them by the Turkish officials. It is a matter of regret that the German press has not become more closely acquainted with the comprehensive disclosures which ap-

peared in February of this year in the English Blue-book (Turkey No. 2, 1896). A careful study of it would have exploded any opposing theory as to their origin.

The part assigned respectively to the civil and military authorities, in their direction of them, differed in many points. The *rôle* of the latter was simple. They had first of all secretly to arm the populace, as well as the reserves called in, and the troops of Kurds and Circassians, if they were still in need of weapons. Their next duty was previously to instruct the regular troops only to assist the irregular regiments of Kurdish Hamidieh, the local police, and the armed Turkish population, when Armenian opposition was to be feared, or where the massacre should come to a halt before the people had warmed to the work, or the Armenians, thanks to superior numbers, should repulse their assailants. The latter case seldom occurred, as the attack was too sudden to allow the Armenians to make a stand. In the few instances that they did so, by barricading themselves in their villages or quarters, as at Gurun and Diarbekir, they were afterwards treated with additional severity. In one or two places just before the massacre, the authorities removed garrisons whose relations with the Christian population were suspected of being too friendly; in other places, where the garrisons were weak, they received reinforcements. On the outbreak of the massacre an excellent pretext for billeting soldiery in Armenian villages was afforded by the necessity of restoring order; the reserves were

called out, the irregular troops were sent from one place to another, and a standing force was thus organised, which at a given moment on the word of command might fall upon the Christians. The interval between their cantonment in any place, ostensibly for the protection of the population, and the final outbreak, was employed by the regulars, the Redifs, and the Zaptiehs in lucrative extortions and systematic insults inflicted on those whom they were sent to defend. Later on, at the close of the reign of violence, when the booty had been safely hidden, they were only here and there employed in the work of clearing up.

The task of the civil officials was much more complicated, as they had to show a double front. While awakening the fanaticism of the Mohammedan population, making preparations for the massacres, and guaranteeing to the perpetrators that all their crimes should pass unpunished, with the Christian community and especially with the consuls, they had to play, as well as they were able, the part of innocence and good intentions. They had to keep their victims in hand until the given day of slaughter, by deceptive promises of their protection, and by perfidious measures render the murderous blow awful in its suddenness, directness, and comprehensiveness.

It has been clearly proved by the Turkish official statistics, and indeed had before been cleared of all possible doubt by the Ambassadors' Report, that only trifling Turkish losses are to be set against the hecatombs of slaughtered Armenians; and this fact would be an absolute

enigma if the solution were not so execrably simple. Throughout the area of the massacres, wherever there was fear of Armenian opposition, the officials followed the simple plan of completely disarming the Armenians, under threats of withdrawing all magisterial protection. Christians indeed and Christians alone are by statute forbidden to carry arms. Nevertheless in a land where the government in no way ensures the safety of its Christian subjects, and the guardians of order are often in league with robbers and bandits, the officials are themselves forced to tolerate the possession of weapons. As, however, they sought, with great conscientiousness, in all their measures to avoid any loss of life among the Mohammedan aggressors, on the one hand they disarmed the Christians and on the other hand provided for a liberal distribution of arms among the Moslems. In each case they were most thorough and systematic; supplying the latter with the weapons they had taken from the former, and, where these were not sufficient, sending for others from the military depôts. It was simply announced that any Mohammedan might seize any weapon he found belonging to a Christian. The Armenians universally obeyed the decree and delivered up their arms, not daring to oppose the official mandate. As a rule, it is true that they made their disarmament conditional on that of the Mohammedans, which was usually promised them, but was never once carried out. We only know of one place, Germush, in which the inhabitants refused to give up their arms and

where they preferred to lay their heads at the feet of the officials to be chopped off at once. Thus, thanks to the wise provisions of the authorities, who had so unevenly balanced the scales, the minimum of risk existed with the assailants, and the maximum of defencelessness with the attacked. Their next duty was to choose the most favourable moment. Another aim, carefully kept in view at the outbreak of the disturbances, was the concealment, especially from the consuls, of their participation in the preparations for the massacres. Later on, throwing off all reserve, they directed them in person. This earlier attitude accounts for the favourable testimony in the Report in regard to several heavily inculpated officials. In a few instances it was thought necessary, since no provocation was forthcoming from the Armenians, to invent such themselves. Thus at Sivas the windows of a few leading Turks were broken. False reports were spread, which through their improbability, absurdity, and stereotyped repetition, gained no credence, and yet served as a pretext for the sharp treatment of Armenians, for the disarming of Christians and for the arrest of men whom it was desirable to get out of the way. An absurd rumour which spread in different towns that the Armenians had fired one Friday into a mosque during service, has a ready explanation, namely, that shots were discharged in the mosques by the Mohammedans themselves incited by the Mullahs, who sought to give weight to the rumour. The massacres, too, generally broke out after service

on Friday when the unsuspecting Armenians were sitting quietly in their shops in the bazaar. The depth of cunning and treachery with which the authorities induced them to return to business and reopen their shops, which on the first panic they had closed and left, surpasses in its baseness the brutality of the subsequent slaughter. The signal to attack, so long awaited, was only given after the authorities were quite sure that the Armenians were totally unprepared and unarmed; and often immediately after they had been lured by the hypocritical representations of the officials into resuming business. A market-day was generally chosen for the massacres, in order that the country people coming in to sell their goods might take part in the plunder. In other cases the tribes of Kurds and Circassians had all duly received instructions. In order that the attack might be made simultaneously in the different parts of the bazaar, and in the Christian quarters, a trumpet was blown in Trebizond, Bitlis, Erzeroum, and Harpout, while in Ourfa a green flag was waved from the minaret. The participation of the regular troops in the massacres and looting, is proved in Trebizond, Erzeroum, Baiburt, Harpout, Malatia, Arabkir, Erzingjan, Segherd, Konkhuli, Mezraa, Sivas, Tokat, Marsivan, Amasia, Diarbekir, Ourfa, Marash, Yenidje-Kale, Biredjik, and numerous country districts. The soldiers generally took the lead; the Redifs, or Reserves, which had been called out by the government for the maintenance of order took an active part in the slaughter and plunder. The Zaptiehs (local

police) did not fail to follow their example. Even the highest officers united with the common soldiers to excite fanaticism, and, above all, to assist in the seizure and concealment of booty. The point is clearly proved by the inquiry of the commissioners. The attitude of the authorities has already been discussed by us in the first sections of this work, where we have devoted pages of statistics to it. In order to present the complete data on which we base our charges against them, we ought to give a detailed history of all the chief massacres, but this is hardly necessary, since, as each was carried out on the same stereotyped pattern, they all closely resemble each other. It will be enough for us to add some striking illustrations to the account we have already given; those taken from the inquiry of the commissioners being placed within quotation marks. Before the outbreak in Trebizond, the Armenian Metropolitan sent deputies soliciting the protection of the Vali, Kadri Bey, who, to reassure them, swore that nobody would dare to attack the Armenians and that if any one sought to do so, they would have to pass over his dead body. But at that very moment he was countenancing the purchase, which lasted over three days, of a considerable supply of weapons by the Moham-medans. The Armenians were prevented from buying arms by the police. In answer to repeated representations the Vali pacified them anew, but shortly before the outbreak he declared that he would not guarantee their safety if they did not discover and deliver up certain persons suspected

of an attempt against the Pashas. During the massacre he himself chose out some prominent Armenians as the first victims. At its close he gave orders for the clearance and ransacking of the shops and houses of the Armenians with these words, 'Hurrah comrades! now for the great loot!'

In Erzeroum, while the Turkish population was openly making preparations for the massacre, 'the authorities, in spite of the efforts of the consuls, directed all their energies to the arrest of Armenians.' In Erzingjan, the Marshal Zekki Pasha incited the people to the worst crimes, openly saying to the Armenian notables that 'England, in conjunction with the other Powers, could give them no effectual assistance,' adding: 'Thanks to our friendship with Russia we have nothing to fear if we annihilate you, and you may be sure that we shall do it.' The officials of the same town, just before the outbreak of the massacres, induced the Armenians to reopen their shops. Later, when the mob advanced on the given day, it was led by some of the chief civil servants who excited the populace by crying, 'Fear nothing, down with the Giaours!' In Harpout, and the district around, the massacre was organised by Vali Mustafa Pasha and the commander Raghib Pasha, who distributed weapons among the Turks and openly watched the garrison helping forward with shells and volleys the ruin of the Armenian quarter. 'Aniz Pasha, Acting Vali of Diarbekir, openly showed hostility to the Christians.' 'The French Consul having called



his attention to the alarming excitement prevailing among the Mussulmans, the Vali said that he feared nothing from them, and that he would guarantee that order was preserved.'

The Vali of Sivas, on the outbreak of disturbances, 'was unable to obtain from the Porte authority to take effective measures.' In Aleppo 'the Consuls' representations to the authorities were received with marked indifference. Those representations were unsuccessful, owing to the determination of the Vali, Hassan Pasha, to take the most favourable view of the situation.'

In Ourfa, Hassan Pasha directed the preparations for the great massacre on the 28th of December, while the military commander, Nazif Pasha, himself gave the signal for the attack on the Armenian quarter. He said he had been in Bulgaria and knew how rebellious clowns ought to be treated.

'Faik Pasha, Vali of Adana, instead of taking the lead in the adoption of measures for the preservation of order, was travelling round his vilayet and would not take heed of what had occurred. Mehemet Midhat, the Defterdar, in charge of the vilayet, increased the excitement by uncalled-for measures against inoffensive Christians.'

Although plunder and havoc broke out in all places through which the Vali passed on his tour, he told the commander of a French man-of-war that in his vilayet there had been no disturbance. He it was who imprisoned the parish priest of Messis for inopportunist sending him a

telegram with the news of the ransacking of his church.

The Vali in Amasia, a Circassian, being unwilling to give the order for the massacres, was very nearly killed by the military commander and his Turkish officers, who were eventually successful in forcing it from him. One of the principal Turks told a leading Christian lady that the command to massacre arrived some little time before it was put into execution, as the Turks there did not dare to attack the Armenians whom they considered well armed, until they should receive reinforcements. The Mutessarif of Ismidt was present at the scene of the massacre at Ak Hissar. Directly afterwards, in an official report, he stated that the occurrence was of no importance.

Shakir Pasha, the commissioner who was intrusted by the Porte with an inquiry into the question of reforms demanded by the Armenians, travelled through the vilayet of Trebizond. Every place through which he passed became the scene of massacres.

The last massacre in Van, from the 14th to the 22nd of June 1896, was instigated and directed by Saadeddin Pasha, the commissioner of the Porte and the special emissary of the Sultan. He accused the Vali, Nazim Pasha, of lukewarmness and inactivity, and placed himself in alliance with the infamous Shekir, a Kurdish sheikh, who had to organise the massacres in the country districts. Major Halim Effendi, notorious for his cruel deeds in Sassoun, was commissioned at the head of a strong division of the troops to storm the Armenian

quarter of Aigestan, in which he was supported by a cannonade from the heights commanding the town. He inflamed the mob by shouting, 'On, my boys! Down with everything first, then rob and plunder at your leisure.'

When the disturbances began in Malatia, two prominent men of the Protestant community, members of the courts of justice came with their two sons and begged for protection from the governor of the town. He answered, 'I cannot protect you.' They asked for protection for their sons. He answered, 'Send them into the barracks!' The men withdrew. Then the governor made a sign to the zaptieh on duty, and both were shot down in the very court of the government buildings. The two lads begged for their life. The one was shot down as he ran away. The other met a Kurd who demanded money of him. He gave him sixty-five piastres, and then was also shot.

In Konkhuli the military commander ordered in petroleum for burning down the houses. In the district of Yenidje-Kale, the troops, under the leadership of their officers, attacked the hospice of Mudjuk Deressi, killed Pater Salvatore, and burned down all the houses in Yenidje-Kale as well as the Franciscan convent. Pater Salvatore was in the evening in the company of a Turkish officer, the leader of the escort sent to him by the government, whom he entertained in his own house. In the morning he had to come down with the brothers of his order, and was confronted with the alternative of Mohammedanism or death.

He would not desert his faith. He was pierced with bayonets, hacked in pieces, and burned.

'The soldiers sent after some delay to guard the French Vice-Consulate grumbled loudly at being thus prevented from taking part in the massacre and pillage with their co-religionists.'

'Soldiers passing through the port of Alexandretta openly boasted of having taken part in the massacres.'

'The Redifs, called out at Erzeroum, declared that, if they were to march out to obey the Sultan's orders, they must first clear the country of all the Christians.'

In Aleppo, too, 'they declared openly that, as they had been made to leave their homes, they ought to be left free to plunder and exterminate the Christians.'

In Trebizond it could be seen how even officers of high rank ordered waggon-loads of stolen goods to be taken into their dwellings. The commandants of police could be seen bringing away sacks full of silver on horses.

In Harpout the Vali, Mustafa Pasha, secured to himself a portion of the booty by drawing a cordon of Circassians round the city, and any especially valuable articles which were being carried away he ordered to be seized and set aside for himself.

All such proofs of the guilt of the authorities, both civil and military, could be multiplied indefinitely, but we think that no further representation is needed to convince our readers, and we therefore condense our indictments against the

Turkish authorities of the Armenian provinces under the following heads:—

I. The civil and military authorities have in no way obstructed the preparation for the massacres on the part of the Mohammedan population, either by their spontaneous action, or even in response to appeals from the chief Armenians of the districts or from the consuls.

II. The civil and military authorities have themselves organised these preparations by taking the following measures before each outbreak:—

1. They enforced, in a thorough and systematic manner, the disarming of the Armenian population.
2. They left the Mohammedan population in possession of their arms.
3. They even went beyond this and supplied the Turkish and Kurdish population with an abundance of weapons partly taken from the military depôts.
4. Certain valis and military commanders made tours in the vilayets in order to incite the population to plunder, to distribute weapons, and to invite the tribes of Kurds and Circassians to the assault of Armenian villages and quarters, giving them special instruction how to proceed.
5. They deceived the Christian population by assuring them of protection, and by quartering soldiers on them and calling out the Reserves, which ostensibly were placed there for the preservation of order, while in fact they were instructed to take part in the massacre and loot.
6. They made the assault and plundering of bazaars possible, by obliging the townspeople,

who in view of the threatening massacre had closed their shops and withdrawn into their houses, to open them again and resume business. This they did either by raising illusive hopes that peace was soon to be restored, or by absolute commands and violent coercion.

III. The civil and military authorities made themselves responsible in many ways for the massacre, by personal co-operation with the highest officials in the plunder, and forced conversions, since

1. They fixed the exact time for the outbreak of the massacres ;
2. They arranged a definite period of days and hours, during which liberty to murder and plunder with impunity was given to the Kurds, the mob, and the soldiery ;
3. The massacres were begun and closed with the sound of a trumpet or some other signal ;
4. The Christian population who sought help were repulsed or the supplicants arrested ;
5. Appeals for help and telegraphic petitions to the highest authorities, especially the Sultan, were stopped ;
6. Before, during and after the massacres countless arrests of Armenians took place, the majority of whom without the formality of legal proceedings languish still in prison, and many have suffered most horrible tortures ;
7. The military, the Redifs, the Kurds, and the Circassians were commanded to take part in the massacres ;
8. They secured to themselves a share of the

booty by means of the troops or police placed under their command.

iv. The civil authorities attempted to hide or excuse the fact of the massacres and plunder when all was over.

1. They falsely accused the Armenians of instigating them ;

2. By imprisonment, by threats of death or fresh massacres, they extracted from the chief Armenians declarations that the Armenians had been the cause of the outbreaks, and that, thanks to the measures taken by the authorities, order was again restored ;

3. They sought, as far as was practicable by a systematic disposal of the corpses, to do away with all trace of the devastation ;

4. They prevented transmission of intelligence by opening the letters of the victims, by hindering emigration, and by refusing admission to foreign correspondents ;

5. Here and there they ordered an apparent restoration of stolen property, in which only the most worthless things, only indeed one-hundredth part of what had been lost, were restored ;

6. They made proclamations prohibiting massacres, plunder, and compulsory conversions, without seeing that these were enforced.

v. The authorities did nothing to avert the inevitable consequences of the massacres from the inhabitants whose property had been thoroughly plundered :

1. Any support given to the suffering people from the government was ridiculously inadequate, and was stopped again in a few days.

2. The pains taken by the European committees of relief to relieve the misery were baulked in every imaginable fashion, and it was only at the energetic initiative of the English Ambassador, as the president of the international relief committee, that any change was effected in this respect.

3. Nothing was done for the rebuilding of the houses, for the recultivation of the land, or for the protection of the sufferers in view of the coming winter.

4. The emigration of the sufferers was stopped.

5. No care of any sort was taken of the hundreds of thousands of widows, orphans, sick and helpless.

6. The last remnants of the property of the sufferers were generally taken from them by rigorous taxation, and in the same way they were even robbed of the money which they had received for their support.

vi. No obstacle to a repetition of the massacres or to an attack on districts as yet unaffected by them must be expected even now from the authorities. On the contrary, as the latest massacres (June 1896) in Van, Egin, and Niksar, and the disturbances in Trebizond in August last, as well as the forced conversions everywhere abundantly prove, the annihilation of the Armenian people is still being systematically completed.

vii. The originators and accomplices of the the wholesale murder, plunder, and forced conversions remain unpunished.

## 5. TURKISH FABRICATIONS

In the last section we collected our accusations against the Turkish civil and military authorities in a long series of charges; and laid before our readers enough material to enable them to realise the truth of our allegations. We must go a step further and ask: Have these authorities acted on their own initiative, or on orders from their superiors?

Before we give an answer to this question, it is necessary to inquire into a remarkable fact, which is unanimously reported from all the provinces. In every town and district the principal men and priests of the Armenian community were forced by the authorities themselves, by means of imprisonment, torture and threats of death and of fresh massacres, to sign lying declarations, false reports, hypocritical addresses of thanks, and falsified documents of all kinds, saying that they, the Armenians, had by rebellious risings disturbed the peace, which was now restored, thanks to the exertions of the government authorities.

For whom were those forced declarations intended? who was desired to make them? and what use was made of them?

The discussion of these points is necessary before we can take the next step in the investigation of the question of guilt.

In the first place we shall deal with the forced declarations, and the methods by which they were extorted. We give a small selection of reports

which afford sufficient insight into both questions. Quotations from the Ambassadors' Report are put in inverted commas.

*Diarbekir.*—'After Aniz Pasha had received the confirmation of his office as Vali in the beginning of October 1895, he began to stir up the Christians, and sow dissension between the congregations and the clergy, while he forced the latter to sign a telegram of thanks to the Sultan for his definite appointment to the Vali-ship. After the massacre, he refused the Armenian community, which had 400 families to support, the small assistance which was granted by the authorities, because the bishop had refused to sign a telegram imputing the blame to the Armenians.'

*Erzingjan.*—Three weeks after the massacre, the authorities laid before the bishop a telegram, which was to be sent to the Sultan and the central authorities, and which ascribed the provocation of, and responsibility for, the massacre to the Armenians. The Armenians refused, but pressure was employed. Arrests followed, and distinguished men, reduced to beggary, groaned in prison.

*Sivas.*—'All possible means were employed to force the Christians to sign declarations in which the provocation was imputed to the Armenians, and to denounce their fellow-believers.'

*Seert.*—'The authorities used every means to force the Armenians to sign a declaration admitting that they themselves had provoked the disturbances.'

*Arabkir.*—The Armenian prisoners were forced to sign a declaration that the Armenians had provoked the disturbances.

The authorities of the district of Agen required the Armenians to certify by their signature that they had voluntarily accepted Islam.

The inhabitants of the village of Antscherti had to sign a declaration to the same effect.

Severe pressure was brought to bear not only on the Armenians, but on office-bearers and well-known men of other denominations, and even on Europeans.

'In Marsivan the Kaimakam (district-governor) tried to force the Jesuit fathers to sign a declaration that the Armenians had provoked the massacres.'

In Ourfa the heads of different religious communities, and even Europeans as well, were molested with similar demands from the authorities.

These forced declarations were apparently extorted almost everywhere at the initiative of the local authorities. But, to illuminate the darkness which till now has hung over the origin of the Armenian massacres, it is very important to say distinctly, that even the emissaries of the Sultan, and the commissioners sent from the central government for purposes of inquiry, interested themselves in procuring such forced addresses, or in making the local authorities procure them, and, moreover, that these commissions fulfilled their task in a most singular manner.

Two commissioners came to Baiburt and Mezere, called some of the leading men among the Armenians before them, told them how much had been done for their people by the present ruler, laid all the blame of the disturbances on them, and threatened that still greater severity would be employed if they caused any further disturbances. These commissioners, who went round to remove the traces of the destruction, forced the Armenians to open their shops and bazaars, though they had no wares to sell. In the beginning of January several government officers came into the provinces of Harpout and Diarbekir to visit the recently converted villages, and to impress on the inhabitants that, if they were asked, they were on no account to admit that they had been forced to accept Islam. They were threatened with death if they disobeyed.

The Turkish commission of inquiry in Moush after their arrival began to reproach the local authorities, because they had not yet succeeded in procuring addresses of thanks from the Armenians of Moush to the Sultan. The pasha called the presiding magistrate and ordered him with threats to sign a telegram of thanks. 'But what do you wish us to be thankful for?' asked the president. 'That does not concern you, do as the others have done.' He asked that the telegram might be signed by the Metropolitan and went away. He was then sent to prison. After the prisoners had been tortured, bastinadoed, quantities of freezing water thrown on their heads, and nails driven through their bodies,

a telegram was extorted from them to the central government, in which they took upon themselves all responsibility for the disturbances, and laid the blame of instigating them on the Armenian population. At the request of the prisoners, the best-known inhabitants of the town also signed the telegram to avoid a fresh massacre.

After this first telegram, the authorities dictated a second, which laid still further blame on the Armenians, and they were forced to sign it under the most fearful threats. They gave way to escape another massacre. At the last massacre in Van, June 14-22, 1896, the commissioner of the Porte compelled several leading Armenians by force to sign an address to the Sultan, in which they declared that the trifling disturbances in Van (there were only 20,000 Armenians murdered) had been stirred up at the instigation of a few criminal Armenian malefactors. Some people may ask, 'Why did the Armenians sign such lies?' We give the answer in two documents which should amply suffice to silence any further question as to reasons. One is a letter from Arabkir, dated December 29, 1895.

'MY DEAR BROTHER,—. . . The most cruel part of this affair is, that after all the injuries we have had to bear, we have been forced to sign addresses of thanks to the Sultan. They even force us to say that we ourselves, the Armenians, have done all this. Have the Armenians gone so mad as to have killed each other, and burned down their own houses? And is Europe so idiotic that she is not ashamed to be deceived in such a silly fashion? Oh, tell them in Europe how things have

gone here that they may come and save us, for without help we are lost! Our misery is frightful. All who have survived the massacre—women, old people, and children—are coming back from the mountains whither they had fled; ill, half-naked, exhausted with hunger and cold, they wander from street to street knocking at the doors of the houses that have escaped the fire, and begging there, but no one has anything to give them; they eat grass.'

Have people, at the point of death from starvation, still the moral courage to escape in the midst of torture and the danger of death from the pressure of an authority that goads them into lies? But here is a heroic example to prove that such courage is possible. Perhaps our readers' eyes will be opened to see how much blood and how many tears cling to the driest despatch or account which the Turkish government throws to the ever-willing telegraph agencies and to the offices of the great newspapers of the world.

'In the village of Hoh, in the Harpout district, the Agas promised to protect the Christians, but when they saw the burning villages all around they refused to keep their word. The Christians were collected in a mosque, and eighty young men were picked out and led to the village to be slaughtered. Hundreds of Christians were tortured because they refused to sign addresses to the Sultan in which their relations and neighbours were accused of high treason. One, for example, refused to take an oath which would have given over the best people in his village to the executioner. His judges ordered him to be tortured. A whole night was spent upon it. First he received

blows upon the soles of his feet in a room close to where his female relations were waiting. Then he was undressed, and two poles were bound firmly to his body, which reached from his armpits to his feet. Next, his arms were stretched out and his hands fastened to poles, and this living cross was bound to a pillar, and the scourging began. The unhappy wretch could not move a limb to alleviate his pain, and only his features betrayed, by their frightful convulsions, the tortures he suffered. The louder he shrieked the heavier fell the blows. Again and again he was asked whether he would take the oath. But he always replied, "I cannot stain my soul with innocent blood, I am a Christian." Next they brought pincers to draw his teeth, but desisted when he remained firm. An officer then ordered his servants to tear out the hairs of the prisoner's beard singly by the roots. This was done amid loud and scornful laughter. When this was of no use some one held a red-hot spit to the hands of the unhappy man, whose flesh burned, and who cried out in his agony: "For God's sake, kill me at once!" At this the executioners took the red-hot iron away from his hands and laid it on his breast, back, face, and feet. Then they forced his mouth open and burnt his tongue with hot pincers. The unhappy man fainted three times, but each time when he came to himself his resolution was immovable. The women and the children in the room close by fainted with terror at the groans and shrieks of the tortured man. When they had recovered their senses they wanted to rush out and bring help, but the policeman at the door pushed them back into the room.'

We think that the fact of the forced declarations and the methods by which they were

extorted are sufficiently proved and illustrated. Besides this we have the Ambassadors' Report. But, before we answer the questions raised above, we can also throw some light on the method of making up the official report of the Turkish authorities. The Ambassadors' Report gives in various places the statistics rendered by the Turkish government of those who were killed on the Armenian side. We confront these Turkish figures with the facts:—

## ARMENIANS KILLED

|                 | Official Figures<br>of the Turkish<br>Government. | The Truth from<br>European<br>Sources. |
|-----------------|---|--|
| Erzingjan, .    | 70  | 1000                                   |
| Bitlis, . .     | 130   | 900                                    |
| Harpout, . .    | 80  | 900                                    |
| Arabkir, . .    | 200   | 4000                                   |
| Amasia, . .     | 80  | 1000                                   |
| Vezir-Keupru, . | 38  | 200                                    |
| Aintab, . .     | 100   | 1000                                   |
| Marash, . .     | 30  | 1390                                   |

In a former section we have already noticed the estimate of the Mohammedans killed given by the Turkish government. The number has been carefully ascertained, and yet it is a vanishing quantity. People ask: How were the numbers of slain Armenians obtained? Had the truth been approximately ascertained the fable of 'Armenian revolt' could not have been made credible to any one, so probably they were con-



tented to multiply the number of Turks who fell by 2 or 3, and to present the numbers thus found to the Ambassadors. Even if the European reporters put on a few ciphers at the end, the whole width of the Bosphorus is between, and it is always possible to contradict them.

It appears further from the Ambassadors' Report that the Turkish government was always ready, when news came of a massacre, to lay the blame of having provoked it on the Armenians; and they will not have omitted to produce as proofs the declarations, which come in from all parts of the provinces, and about the origin of which we are already convinced. But, unfortunately, the consular reports which came in at the same time showed that there was no provocation whatever, and that the fine stories of Armenian revolts, shooting into mosques, attacks on patrols, etc. etc., were manifestly nothing but contemptible lies. But *semper aliquid haeret* even with the Ambassadors. And what did not take effect with the Ambassadors might render good service with telegraph agencies and correspondents of European and American papers, and might be sent to Turkish ambassadors in all countries. Besides this, the telegraph was kept busy with endless stories about revolutionary committees, Armenian secret societies, murderous attacks on Turkish pashas, and the appearance of Armenian agitators, now in Paris, now in London, now in Athens, now in Constantinople, now even in Armenia, wherever indeed it seemed necessary. The Porte could get as much news as it wanted

in this respect both at home and abroad. Also, what was easier than to suggest a revolutionary committee wherever three Armenians put their heads together, and the delinquents, who were hanged by dozens in the open street in Constantinople, were proof enough of all the accusations so loudly charged against the Armenians. Certainly there were some revolutionaries, and in some foreign towns there are still revolutionary committees. Human nature must have changed if there are not, and one can only wonder that their number is so small and their action so unimportant. At any rate the Turkish government is under obligation to them for existing, and is satisfied that they should not die out, for who would then supply the sparrows to be shot at with the cannon prepared? The editor of the *Christliche Welt*, Dr. Rade, has already shown up the nonsense that is put into European newspapers about Armenian 'revolutionary committees,' etc., and has passed a just judgment on the boundless credulity of our newspapers and their readers. 'Want of sympathy always wants a convenient cover under which it can creep!'

Now for whom were these forced declarations intended which put all the blame on the Armenians? Or the addresses of thanks, which attested the paternal government of His Majesty the Sultan and the maternal care of the provincial authorities? Or the telegrams which reported 'perfect tranquillity' just before the outbreak of the massacre, or in the midst of the tumult at Constantinople? Without doubt, in the first place,

for terrified Europe, which trembles at every creak in the joints of the rotten Turkish Empire as if it meant universal catastrophe; for anxious diplomatists who, for the sake of ease and quiet, look on peace, at any price, as the highest political wisdom, and not least, perhaps, for the uneasy consciences of Christian Powers, who would rather have gone to sleep again on the pillow of repose so provided, than consider the Eastern question which has been raised by their own political system. Peace and quiet before all things! Well! The hundred thousand Armenians who have been killed will be quiet at any rate. But it is possible that these fabrications had another object. Perhaps a busy palace-clique in Yildiz Kiosk required such machinations as we have described to force their lord and master to decisions for which otherwise, perhaps, there was not sufficient reason. But, to bring our chain of conclusions to an end, we must go further back.

#### 6. WHO IS TO BLAME?

We ask rather, Who is not to blame? The Armenians are not to blame. It would certainly have been no wonder if the Armenian people who for years, by a systematic policy of annihilation on the part of the Porte, have been given over defenceless to every kind of injustice at the hands of Turkish officials, to every sort of violence on the part of their Kurdish lords, to extortion by the commissioners of taxes and to the utter illegality of the law courts, had risen up in a

last desperate struggle against the iron yoke of tyranny. But as a matter of fact it was impossible to think of a national rising. To begin with, the Armenians, although large districts are thickly populated with them, are by no means everywhere in a majority in the provinces in question, and, by the law which forbids Christians to carry arms while allowing them to Mohammedans, they are absolutely defenceless. In fact no one in Armenia has ever thought of demanding anything like autonomy. All that was hoped for was that the reforms should be carried out which eighteen years before had been guaranteed by the Christian Powers, and which seemed to promise to the Armenians an existence at least bearable. Throughout the entire district of the massacres we have not been able to discover, notwithstanding the fulness of our information, any movement (except that in Zeitoun) which could be considered to be of the nature of a revolt. The commissioners in their report were not even able to establish any act of provocation on the part of the Armenians, and when such were alleged by the Turkish authorities, the official report has proved it to be untrue. This is what occurred in Zeitoun. The Armenian mountaineers of the anti-Taurus being terrified by the news of the massacres in the neighbouring provinces, fled in thousands for protection to Zeitoun, a natural fortress among the mountains. In the neighbourhood of this town there are more than a hundred villages inhabited exclusively by Armenians, who also pressed into Zeitoun. Near

the town there was a Turkish citadel, with a garrison of about 600 men. The Armenians received news that this garrison was to be considerably reinforced, and that an attack was designed on the defenceless people in Zeitoun. The Armenians decided to forestall it; they armed themselves as well as they could, stormed the citadel and forced the garrison to surrender before reinforcements arrived. They then fortified themselves in Zeitoun and held it the whole winter against an army of 80,000 men, who, from time to time, were sent against them. The result of the struggle has justified the Armenians of Zeitoun, if indeed we are prepared to recognise the right of self-defence. Throughout the whole territory, Armenians fled in thousands from villages and towns without offering resistance; the brave people of Zeitoun alone, thanks to the intervention of the European consuls, not only obtained an amnesty, but have secured the right to a sort of self-government for Zeitoun and its neighbourhood. Such is the way of fate. The diplomatists excuse Europe for playing the spectator's part with regard to the slaughter of a Christian people which she had promised to protect, by saying that this same people, by its revolutionary attitude toward the Turkish government, had forfeited the protection of the Powers. But in the single instance where the Armenians were really revolutionary, if one chooses to call it so, they received the support of these Powers, whilst in the thousand places where they suffered without resistance the mur-

derous attack of the enemy, all protection was refused them, and they even received a moral lecture for not having behaved better. One cannot help wishing that the Armenians everywhere had been in a position to follow the example of the inhabitants of Zeitoun, and so occasion a general revolt. The great Christian Powers, who for hypocritical reasons refuse help to a defenceless people, would, no doubt, be prepared to help a nation with arms in their hands. The Armenians, therefore, are not the guilty party.

Is England to blame? That public opinion is anxious to make light of the Armenian massacres is proved by the prevalence of the absurd idea that the 'Armenian revolt' can be traced to 'English intrigue,' and by the effort to inflame the strong anti-English feeling of the continental public, with such phrases as 'English gold,' 'smuggling of arms by the English,' and 'English agitators.'

Where were the English arms, then? Where was the English gold? They must have been found somewhere in the region of the massacres. A reward might be offered for proof of the existence of 'English intrigue' (!) in Armenia with the certainty that no one would claim it. Is it English intrigue for English consuls to draw up a report on the occurrences in Armenia? Does it constitute English intrigue if English diplomatists, after seventeen years, remember certain paragraphs in the Treaty of Berlin or in the Convention of Cyprus, and in conjunction

with French and Russian diplomatists try to resuscitate the old promises of reform which were once given to an unhappy people? Posterity will condemn both England and the Great Powers not for what they did, but for what they left undone.

If neither the Armenians nor the English are guilty, who is? Has it been really without any object in view that the Turkish authorities in eight great provinces have declared war to the knife with their Armenian subjects? This is more than improbable—it is impossible. The Turkish government is absolute and centralised—*suprema lex\regis voluntas*. The Palace and not the Valis rule the kingdom.

All who have read so far with attention must have come to the conclusion that the Armenian massacres were nothing but an administrative measure, which was ordered by the central government in the name of the Sultan, and was executed with only too great willingness by the provincial officials.

It is easy to give clear proof of this. A united and long-prepared plan lies at the bottom of the destruction of the Armenian people—a plan executed with precipitate haste during the closing months of last year, in consequence of the action of the Powers. For years the instruments of destruction appointed by the government had been working silently and unnoticed, when suddenly the Porte saw itself forced by threatened Armenian reforms to hasten the process, and even at the risk of a general rising in Europe, deter-

mined at one stroke to annihilate the Armenian nation, and to sweep away that hated Christianity which was always awakening the sympathy of Europe. This plan—one in respect of time, place, nationality of the victims, and even in respect of the method of murder and plunder—underlies the whole of the massacres.

1. In regard to place, the massacres were confined to six provinces—Erzeroum, Bitlis, Van, Harpout, Sivas, and Diarbekir,—those, namely, in which the reforms were to have been introduced. When a band of mounted Kurds and Circassians, numbering between 2000 and 3000, threatened to leave the provinces, the authorities of Angora met them and forced them to return, declaring that they had no right to cross the boundary of the province of Sivas. During the disturbances, massacres were also perpetrated in the provinces of Aleppo, Adana, and Angora, not to mention one isolated rising in Ak-hissar (Mutessarifik Ismidt); but we must remember that for these provinces, also, the Powers had demanded reforms, at least in those parts which were thickly populated by Armenians, and it seemed equally necessary to prevent them here. For the most part the province of Angora, with the exception of Cæsarea and its neighbourhood, and Adana, with the exception of the country districts of Païas and Tschok-merzenen, were fairly exempt. The massacres were begun in Trebizond, because of some as yet unexplained attack on two pashas, which offered a specially favourable opportunity for the onslaught. In the

province of Aleppo, Mohammedan fanaticism, excited by accounts of what had happened in other vilayets, took advantage of the movement in the mountainous district of Zeitoun and sent messengers and letters to stir up the Mohammedan population in Marash, Aintab, Biredjik, and Ourfa, urging them to do their duty as Moslems. The authorities showed no unwillingness to fan the scattered sparks into flame, and the consular reports prove that the ambiguous instructions of the central government served as their warrant.

2. As to time, it was not by chance that the massacres began just before the Sultan after months of resistance had been forced by England, France, and Russia, to agree to the scheme of reform; they seemed intended to warn the European Powers that if they kept to their determination the mine was already laid for the annihilation of the Armenian people. Murder and plunder spread through every town and village of the six provinces in which the Armenians had been promised assistance.

In order to give some idea of the readiness with which the provincial authorities obeyed the command of the central government to destroy, we give the dates of the principal massacres:—30th September, Constantinople. October 3rd, Ak-Hissar; 4th, Trebizond; 6th, Erzeroum; 14th, Kighi; 16th, Hadjin; 20th, Tschorum and Marash; 21st, Erzingjan; 25th to 26th, Gumush-Eane, Bitlis, Albistan; 27th to 29th, Baiburt, Schabin-Kara-Hissar, Pajas, Ourfa; 30th, Erze-

roum; 31st, Mersina and Adana. November 1st to 9th, Malatia; 2nd to 5th, Severek; 3rd, Marash; 1st to 20th, Vilayet of Van; 7th, Adiaman and Alexandretta; 8th, Egin; 10th, Harpout, Talori, and Pajas; 12th, Sivas, Gurun, and Kharza; 13th, Tschok-Merzenen; 14th to 17th, Aintab; 15th, Tokat, Moush, Mersivan; 16th, Amasia; 17th, Yenidje-Kale; 18th, Marash; 19th, Seert; 20th, Van; 27th, Passen and Ova; 28th, Zileh; 30th, Cæsarea. December 3rd, Sivas; 7th, Sam-soun; 14th, Tarsus; 14th to 15th, Aghdja-Guney; 24th, Akbes; 28th to 29th, Ourfa. January 1st (1896), Biredjik. Here the first series of massacres ends.

We observe that there was no local system in the massacres, they sprang up here and there in any part of the nine provinces. The time of the outbreaks depended everywhere upon the longer or shorter period needed for their preparation. The demonstration in Constantinople gave a good pretext. The news of it was spread by the Turkish authorities through the whole country, in order to excite Mohammedan fanaticism. Later, the disclosure of the plan of reform, which was falsely represented by the authorities as a complete autonomy for the Armenians, was used to provoke the Mohammedans against the Christians. When the news of the first massacre reached Constantinople, a high Turkish official remarked to one of the ambassadors: 'Massacres are like the chicken-pox, every one must have them, but no one gets them twice.' This gave a hint of what was to be expected. The Sultan

himself tried to frighten the Ambassadors when they were urging him to grant reforms, by telling them they would only cause disturbances. The sequel proves that he knew what he was saying.

3. Strict orders were also given concerning the nationality of the victims. The blow was to fall only on the Armenians. In many of the towns there were Greeks, but they were to be protected. Perhaps one or two fell by chance, in spite of the official warnings and the stringent orders to the contrary. It was well known in Constantinople that Russia would interfere if any one belonging to the Greek Church was injured. Such orders, which plainly protected the members of one church as clearly gave over to destruction the members of the other—the Armenian. However, in the vilayets of Aleppo and Diarbekir, it was impossible to keep Mohammedan fanaticism within these limits. In spite of orders to the contrary, the Syrians, both Jacobites and Chaldeans, were slain with the Armenians. The government had given strict orders that no subject of a foreign Power, not even the hated missionaries, should be injured. It was known that a single European would cost the Porte more than 20,000 Armenians, and every care was taken to avoid foreign complications and the possible payment of indemnifications. Even where—as in Harpout, Marash, Mersivan, Malatia, and Yenidje-Kale—Protestant and Catholic mission-houses were plundered, care was taken to spare the lives of the occupants. Father Salvatore seems to be the only European who was slain in the massacres. If the fanatical

Mohammedans had not been restrained by strict orders, they would probably have attacked the mission-stations and put to death the priests and missionaries, who, as the chief instruments of culture in Armenia, were considered guilty of having opened the eyes of the people to the truth that the shameful treatment which they had received from the Turks was unworthy of their dignity as human beings. European diplomats seem to agree with the Turkish authorities, and so have found a good reason for their antipathy to Christian missions. Would it not be better to leave Europe in peace and the Armenians in ignorance and slavery?

4. The method of murder and plunder was prescribed from headquarters, and was carried out with praiseworthy precision according to the different circumstances of each province. With few exceptions this was the method: to kill as many Armenians as possible in the shortest time, to confiscate all their goods, and to destroy their property. Great care was taken that all men of influence, education, and position—*i.e.* all those who, if the reforms took effect, would have a share in the government or judicature—should be put to death, and their families reduced to beggary. As the selection could not be safely trusted to the populace, lists were made out by the Valis and given into the hands of the soldiers. In order that the Armenian merchants, in whose hands was about nine-tenths of the trade in the towns, should be robbed at one blow of all their goods, the massacres generally took place during

business hours, when the shops were open, and the Armenians could be killed immediately behind the counters. If through fear they were closed, Turkish officials would come a short time before the massacre, and either by promises or threats get them opened. As a rule, the signal for the beginning and ending of a massacre was the blast of a trumpet. If the uniform action of the civil authorities without orders from the central government be inconceivable, the corresponding action of the military authorities is still more inexplicable without direct commands from the War Office, especially as the people, the Kurds, the Circassians, Lazes, and Redifs could not have been armed without resort to the military authorities.

This careful preparation and exact execution of the massacres according to a well-considered plan, makes it impossible to free the central authorities from the guilt of instigating them. The common idea that the authorities were not in a position to restrain the fanatical Turkish populace and the plundering Kurds is completely erroneous. It is a fact that where the authorities did not assist, they at any rate looked on at the plunder and murder, and whenever they interfered after the appointed time-limit was passed, the massacres immediately ceased. Both civil and military officials have stated that if their superiors had not prevented them, they would have been able to disperse the populace, and whenever a government official resolved to take no part in the disturbance, or, as in Adana,

from fear of the war-ships, did not dare to act, no massacre took place.

If the officials had not interfered when the allotted time of either one or more days was completed, the Christians would have been destroyed to a man. A stop was put to the bloody work, not because the Mohammedans did not wish to exterminate the Christians and seize all their property, but because the instigators of the massacres thought that one, two, or three days of murder was as much as Europe would allow at once. This consideration for European nerves would be entirely beyond the comprehension of provincial authorities, but points to the fine political instinct of the Palace clique. It is beyond question that the Turkish people, the military and the Kurds, knew that they were acting, not only under the direction of subordinate officials, who had promised them exemption from punishment, but by command and in the name of the Sultan himself. 'The property of the Giaours is put up for plunder and their lives are forfeited to the Government.' This was the watchword everywhere used; it indicated the will of the Sultan and gave formal permission for all atrocities. This was how the Mohammedan people explained it, and the officials gave no contradiction. The Mullahs taught in the mosques that the action of the Government against the Christians had the sanction of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the infallible spiritual head of the Mohammedan world, and that the religious laws of Islam commanded the uprooting of



Christianity because the Christians had called in the intervention of foreign powers to free them from their position of slavery and place them on the same footing as Mohammedans. The soldiers and the Kurds, as well as the people, appealed to the government to justify their deeds of shame, and even the highest officials made no secret of the fact that they had acted in accordance with instructions from the Palace. We have already reported what the Marshal Zekki Pasha said in Erzingjan. The Kaimakam of Gurun telegraphed to the Vali of Sivas, 'You may rest assured that not a single Armenian is left alive in Gurun.' In Arabkir the authorities gave the following command: 'Children of Mohammed must do their duty,' *i.e.* kill all Armenians or plunder and burn their houses. 'No Armenian is to be spared. That is the command of the Palace. Those who do not obey are to be looked upon as Armenians and killed. Therefore every Mohammedan must prove his obedience to the Government by destroying first of all those Christians who are his friends.'

Even if we leave it an open question whether the order for the massacres came through the personal initiative of the Sultan, or whether he was persuaded through the craft of the Palace clique, by skilful use of false reports and forced addresses from the provincial authorities, to give the orders which were then sent from the Palace to the provinces with the necessary intensifications and instructions; in any case an autocratic monarch is responsible for all his administrative measures;

and the voice of his own people, which declares the Sultan to be the originator of the massacre, plunder and forced conversions to which a defenceless Christian people were exposed, remains uncontradicted.

The judgment of history can hardly differ from this; since by too many acts this monarch has proved himself the finest representative of the old Turkish fanaticism. He provided instruments for the annihilation of his Christian subjects by the organisation of robber bands of Kurds which were called, after him, the Hamidieh regiments; he gave decorations and promotion to the officers most concerned in the massacres, honouring them as the authors of these deeds of shame and as the chosen vessels of his policy, and he set his imperial seal to deeds of murder and vandalism which have been unsurpassed even in the times of the greatest Christian persecutions.

#### 7. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE POWERS

We have been occupied till now, first in ascertaining facts about the extent of the Armenian massacres and their results, and then, by a succession of links, pursuing our inquiries as to persons to whom we must attribute the guilt of the annihilation of the Armenian people carried on as it is upon a consistent plan. We have established by documentary evidence the facts that a hundred thousand unarmed Christians have been slaughtered, a hundred thousand or more converted by force and five hundred



thousand given up to starvation. This state of affairs is the result of a mode of action, arranged with cold blooded calculation and carried through with unheard of cruelty. The originators of this scheme are to be found in the Palace of His Majesty the Sultan.

So far we might look on our task as fulfilled. But during our whole examination one perplexing question has remained unanswered. It will already have forced itself upon the reader, and if it is not answered will stamp the result which we have reached as such a huge improbability, that the most convincing reasons will lose their force and the most certain facts will be relegated to the region of fable. We are asked with justice: How could the government of the Sultan proceed to such an act of madness as to reduce six or seven of the most flourishing provinces of the Empire to a state of desolation such as no war could leave behind it? Has not the Porte been standing for decades on the verge of bankruptcy, which the most daring financial operations can scarcely any longer conceal? Would not the Porte have to fear a revolutionary movement in other parts of the Empire, as well as among a population enraged against the Government by this climax to ten years of mismanagement? Has not the political history of this century taught us clearly that such a frightful blow to the Christian subjects of the Empire must bring about the immediate intervention of the foreign Powers, who were moreover bound to take action by treaty obligations? Did not the massacre of

Chios, in March 1822, in which 23,000 Greeks were slaughtered by the treachery of Ali Pasha, procure the eager sympathy of Europe for the Greeks who were fighting for freedom? Did not the massacre of Lebanon in 1860, to which 6000 Christians fell victims, result in the French Expedition and the autonomy of the Lebanon district? Did not the massacre of 25,000 Bulgarians lead to the Russo-Turkish War and the emancipation of the Balkan provinces; and did not the insurrection of Arabi Pasha in Egypt bring about the bombardment of Alexandria and the rise of English power on the Nile? Could the European diplomatists, who were concerned for the preservation of the Ottoman empire almost as much as for their own life, guarantee the Sultan his throne an hour longer, if, in addition to the disturbances which had become chronic in Macedonia, Arabia and Syria, such a convulsion were to seize those parts of the state which had hitherto been safe? How much longer would European cabinets with astonishing patience respond by means of diplomatic notes to the fever fancies of the 'sick man' writhing in the delirium of death, and patch the plague-spots on every limb with the plasters of their paper treaties? And yet 'whom the Gods will destroy they first send mad.'

However, even the acts of a madman require some kind of psychological motive, and the political madness which brought about the Armenian massacres had a method, as we have unfortunately been able only too completely to

prove. But a motive is wanting, sufficient for even a perverted logic, to explain the decree of annihilation against the Armenians.

When the foreign consuls at Erzeroum last year brought a crying case of injustice to the knowledge of the Vali, he said: 'The Turkish government and the Armenian people stand to each other in the relation of man and wife, and third parties who pity a woman, when she is punished by her husband, will do better not to interfere in a conjugal quarrel.'

The relation of the Christian Powers to the government of the Sultan cannot be better expressed than by this simile. The Sultan, to keep to the figure, has, as we know, not one, but a great many wives in his harem, not only Turks, Kurds, Circassians and Arabs, but also, Christians, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians; in fact, as many as the nationalities who obey his rule. Certainly it vexes him when curious eyes spy through the grated windows of his palace, and when even its walls have ears to discover domestic strife, and busy tongues to carry the secrets of the palace out into the world. As master of the house and as a Turk, he believes that he has the inalienable right to chastise the ladies of his harem, to trample on and imprison them, or even to hang, strangle and drown them, and he deprecates the pity of a Christian morality which fails to appeal to his Mohammedan faith.

But in civilised states the rights of a brutal husband even over his wife are limited, and the acts of a madman, even when it is his own flesh

and blood that he imperils, are prevented by the arm of the law. At any rate for many years the Christian Powers had believed themselves justified in threatening the Commander of the Faithful with such a measure, if he would not behave like a civilised man in his own house. Unhappily the matter has stopped at threats, even when they were signed and sealed, 'in the name of the Almighty,' and delivered to the Sultan in a series of treaties. He has known how to evade the execution of the treaties, by means of skilful promises, and has trusted that European justice, finding the difficulties of putting in force the measures which had been considered necessary, would leave him time enough to put an end to the domestic quarrel in his own way. And he has made use of the respite. When, after waiting for seventeen years, European diplomacy remembered its sympathy with the victims of Turkish barbarity in Armenia—a sympathy which had once made such a brave show—and last year sent its advocates to the Sultan to obtain treatment fit for human beings for his Christian subjects, the Turkish master of the house, seized with furious jealousy, while he kept his troublesome visitors in play with promises, made use of his barbarous rights, and hurriedly strangled the unhappy victim of European pity. The ambassadors of the Christian Powers were still standing before the doors of the imperial palace, in order, as in the pride of their diplomacy they told the world, to grasp the hand of a free Armenia. Suddenly, the door

opened, and a hideously mutilated corpse was thrown at their feet. The diplomatists turned away at once, and none of them would allow that he had seen anything. And now they still sit at the table of the Sultan as before, and are happy to be honoured with distinguished decorations as the result of their diplomacy.

But to return from the language of metaphor to that of politics, how did those treaties run, in which humane Europe once pledged herself to secure the happiness of the Armenian people?

After the victorious conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war, Russia reserved for herself the protection of the unhappy people of Armenia, as one of the fruits of victory, by the treaty of San Stefano. Article 16 of the treaty ran: 'As the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Armenian districts which are to be given back to the Turks might give occasion for fighting and confusion, and make the preservation of good relations between the two countries impossible, therefore the Porte pledges itself to begin without further delay the improvements and reforms required by local necessities in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee safety to the Armenians from Kurds and Circassians.'

But the Christian Powers, who would not surrender the palm of humanity to Russia before they had wrestled in noble rivalry for such a prize, put aside at the proposal of England, in the Treaty of Berlin, Article 16 of the treaty of San Stefano, and replaced it by the joint

guarantee of all the signatory Powers, for the introduction of reforms and the protection of Armenian Christians.

'The Porte,' so ran Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, 'undertakes the obligation of beginning without delay the improvements and reforms required by local necessities in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and of guaranteeing to the Armenians safety from Kurds and Circassians. It will at fixed intervals inform the Powers of the steps taken in this direction and they will see that they are put in force.' But England was not yet satisfied.

Humane emulation, or some other interest, spurred her on, even during the negotiations for the Treaty of Berlin, to get the start of all the other Powers, and to make a special arrangement for the happiness of the Armenians, by means of the so-called Convention of Cyprus. Even before it was signed, Lord Salisbury, in a despatch of the 30th of May, 1878, had given the British ambassador in Constantinople the following instructions: 'The guarantees which are requisite to give England the right to insist on a satisfactory method of carrying out these intentions (of reform) will be an indispensable condition of any agreement to which Her Majesty's government can consent.' Accordingly in the Convention of Cyprus, England received 'a promise from His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, to introduce necessary reforms of administration, which could later on be agreed upon between the two Powers for the protection

of his Christian and other subjects in these districts.'

The logical connection which English diplomacy managed to establish between this arrangement and the occupation of Cyprus, is not to be discovered by the closest examination from the wording of the treaty. But probably England had such a lively anticipation of the reforms she would carry through with the Porte on behalf of the unhappy Armenians that she could not help providing herself with a handsome reward for them beforehand.

When six great Powers pledge themselves with sacred treaties for the good of an enslaved people—and the capital of the German Empire was the witness of this stately spectacle—one might almost believe that Heaven itself could give its feeble creatures no better protection, and might safely leave the guardianship of justice to the representatives of its judicial power on earth.

But we are told that as politics is confessedly the most insincere of arts, these sacred treaties were nothing but a fine piece of moral scene-painting behind which political intrigue wished to hide, and that whatever might become of the Armenians, none of those who signed the treaty of Berlin seriously intended so much as to lift a finger to redeem their high-sounding promises, or to keep the Porte to a fulfilment of its engagements. And last year, when one of the signatory Powers made an attempt, after seventeen years of inaction, to bring the paper treaties to life, all Europe cried out at such a gross diplomatic

breach of the peace, and horror seized the civilised world at 'perfidious Albion,' who, because it happened to suit her, refused to look on paper as paper, or at the Armenians under Turkish rule as a happy people.

But perhaps it will be said, things are not so bad now in Armenia, and the Powers have dropped the execution of the treaty obligations, because, owing to the improved condition of things, reform appears unnecessary. Well, the Powers, who are in a position to obtain all the information they want about affairs in Armenia through their consuls, and who, in fact, as the volumes of diplomatic blue-books show, cannot plead ignorance, shall give sentence themselves in this matter. In the first years after the Treaty of Berlin, it was still looked on as a matter of political propriety at least to censure, by means of diplomatic notes, the absolute indifference of the Porte to the conditions relating to Armenians, and to appear as if pressure was really to be exercised to secure the execution of reforms in the Armenian provinces.

On September 7th, 1880, a collective note was delivered to the Porte from the ambassadors of the six signatory Powers. In it we may read as follows:—

'The undersigned have received the note of the 5th July of this year, in which the Porte answered the paragraph in their communication of the 11th June, referring to the improvements and administrative reforms which the Ottoman government had undertaken to introduce in the provinces inhabited

by Armenians according to Act 61 of the treaty of Berlin. An attentive study of this document had shown them that the proposals suggested by the Ottoman government do not correspond either in the spirit or in the letter to this article. . . . There is nothing to show that any improvement whatever in the administration of justice has been introduced. On the contrary numerous consular reports prove that the present state of affairs, so far as concerns the independence of the civil and criminal courts, is quite as unsatisfactory as before, if not worse.

'As regards the militia and police, the note of the 5th of July assures us that the Porte has invited several special officials to bring forward proposals for reform in both these matters. The Powers have received no notice of these proposals, and even the Ottoman government was not in a position to say that they had been submitted to it.

'The undersigned cannot allow that the answer of your Excellency replies in the least to the complaints set out in their note of the 11th of June. They think that they are so much the more justified in reckoning the attempted exertions of the Ottoman government in this respect at their true worth, that the Porte just after concluding this reply openly gives a far from accurate account of the situation and obligations brought about by the Berlin treaty.

'The very terms in which the Porte expresses itself about the crimes committed or alleged in the provinces inhabited by Armenians show that it refuses to acknowledge the state of anarchy which prevails in these provinces, or the serious nature of a position which, if continued, will in all probability result in the annihilation of the Christian population in those wide regions.

'The note of the 5th of July formulates no serious proposal with a view of putting an end to the excesses of the Circassians and Kurds. The Powers would doubtless welcome the introduction of reforms in all parts of the Ottoman empire, but they insist before everything else on the complete fulfilment of the treaty of Berlin, and cannot allow that the Porte should think itself excused from the obligations which it has undertaken in this respect by bringing forward a scheme of re-organisation, in which there appears not one of the special reforms which were stipulated for in favour of the provinces specially named.'

The collective note lays besides the most thorough-going proposals before the Porte with regard to the reforms in the administration of the government, of justice, and of the police, required by the treaty, and concludes :

'The undersigned once more point out to the Porte that local necessities require the reforms which are to be introduced into the provinces inhabited by Armenians according to the wording of the obligations which they have entered into by an international instrument, and which must be carried through under the superintendence of the Powers.

'(Signed)—Hatzfeldt, Novikoff, Goschen, Corti, Tissot, Calice.'

This, two years after the treaty of Berlin, was the last serious step undertaken by the Powers to redeem the promises given to the unhappy Armenians.

A circular note from Lord Granville, of the 12th of January 1881, which once more invited the other five Powers to make further representa-

tions to the Porte, was evasively answered by them. England, indeed, had expected nothing else, for the English ambassador in Constantinople, Mr. Goschen, had already written to Lord Granville: 'If they (the Powers) refuse, or only give a lukewarm support, Her Majesty's government has' no further responsibility.' So the 'Armenian Question' was laid aside with the diplomatic documents, and the Porte rubbed its hands.

It follows that the representatives of the Christian Powers were fully aware that the 'continuation of the anarchy prevailing in the Armenian provinces would in all probability result in the annihilation of the Christian population in those wide regions.' And yet with one consent they refused for fifteen years to put any check on the Turkish government machine labouring vigorously at its work of annihilation and threshing the Christians like straw on the threshing floor. Why should they? Did not these diplomatists know just as well as the clever pashas at the Porte that the reforms 'guaranteed by our international instrument' would remain for ever on paper, and that nothing more would come of all their writing and their verbal representations? They might indeed have stereotyped the collective note of the 7th September 1880; and have had it presented to the Porte at the end of each quarter for the next fifteen years, but who can blame men of culture and honour if, after they have been led by the nose two or three times, they refuse to be made fools of any longer? For every one

knew beforehand that nothing would come of it but the writing of diplomatic notes.

Meanwhile the machine worked on. How the Christian population of Armenia was slowly but surely ground to pieces between its iron teeth can be partially seen from the written report of an eye-witness who, in the autumn of last year, alarmed the Christian public of England.

We reproduce below E. J. Dillon's article in the *Contemporary Review*, 'The Condition of Armenia,' August 1895. The instructive publications of F. D. Greene and the Rev. Malcom MacColl also deserve to be made accessible to the German public, for these men are not reticent even in speaking of the politics of their own government, and describe with a plainness that should make even a Turk blush the scandalous practices of Turkish officials, officers, judges, tax-collectors, and policemen, compared with whose shameful deeds the robbery and murders of the Kurds seem like the harmless tricks of schoolboys.

'For the net result of our interference with Russia in 1878,' writes Mr. Dillon, 'if considered from a purely philanthropic point of view, was to perpetuate a system of horrors in the five Armenian provinces, compared with which those of negro slavery in the Southern States were literally light blemishes. We solemnly abolished purgatory and deliberately connived at the inauguration of hell. We undertook to see that the abuses should be speedily and definitely swept away; and not merely have we neglected to fulfil this self-imposed duty . . . but we have allowed a loose system

of misrule gradually to develop into a diabolical policy of utter extermination without venturing to make our power felt, or daring to recognise our impotence.'

For sixteen years the machine worked silent and noiseless. If now and then one of the statesmen, who was responsible for the 'superintendence' of the methods of the Porte, threw a pebble among its wheels, the Porte took this entirely as a harmless jest. Then suddenly, in August 1894, the machine, which had been worked too hard, gave an audible jolt, and startled Europe was unpleasantly reminded of the existence of Armenia by the massacre of Sassoun. There was a stirring in high political circles as if a bee-hive had been disturbed. A commission of inquiry was instituted, and 108 protocols were drawn up, not to speak of the volumes of speeches which were put together. The Porte could not understand what was the matter; for what happened in Sassoun was only a striking specimen of the usual method of government and a little experiment as well to see how much European diplomacy would put up with in Armenia.

There is no doubt that the embarrassment which was caused to the Continental cabinets by the utterly imprudent home-politics of the Porte was very convenient to the Foreign Office in London, and the resumption of the question of Armenian reforms in February 1895 was by no means only the result of humane principles on the part of the Liberal government.

But we cannot refer the course of universal

history to the working of two or three wires pulled by hands more or less clean in the cabinets of London, Petersburg, and Paris, or lay the responsibility of the outbreak of the Oriental crisis, which will probably end only with the collapse of Turkey, on the machinations of a few more or less skilful diplomatists. That would, indeed, be an attempt to understand the drama of universal history from the plot of a Punch and Judy show.

The massacre in Sassoun threw such lurid light on the annihilation policy of the Porte in Armenia that, apart from the advantage of a stronger line of action in the East, the Liberal Cabinet could not but take some account of the indignation of the English public, and at last begin to think of redeeming the pledges of the Convention of Cyprus. In April 1895 Russia and France officially joined in the negotiations opened up by England with the Porte in March, concerning the introduction of reforms in Armenia. On the 11th of May the dragomans of the English, the French, and the Russian embassies delivered to the Porte the scheme of reform that the ambassadors had drawn up for the eastern provinces of Asia Minor—the scheme that had received the approval of the three Powers. It extended over six provinces, and called for thorough-going reform of the administrative, judicial, and political courts, of the management of prisons and customs, and also for energetic measures against the inroads of the Hamidieh troops, and the robber-raids of the Kurdish tribes. It required further that the

administrative, judicial, and political courts should be composed of Christian as well as of Mohammedan officials, in proportion to the population. Statistics for the year 1880 give the following figures for the six vilayets in question:—Christians 1,054,800 (Armenians 780,800, Syrians 251,000, Greeks 23,000), Mohammedans 776,500 (Turks 220,000, Circassians 100,000, Kurds 380,000, and others 76,500).

The scheme of reform, backed by the three great Powers, placed the Sublime Porte in a position of extreme embarrassment, and the more so because even the other Powers, Germany included, urged the Porte to consent to the same. The Mohammedan religion does not and cannot allow equal civil rights to the Christians even by law, much less in the administration of it, nor does it admit the evidence of a Christian against a Mohammedan before a tribunal. As a matter of fact all that the scheme of reform required had already been granted in substance by the firman of 1856, but this had remained a dead letter, for the simple reason that it never had received, and never could receive, the sanction of the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The diplomatists of the Sublime Porte twisted and turned in negotiations that lasted for months, trying to evade the reforms; at last, however, the Sultan had no choice but to add to his long series of unfulfilled promises and sign the reforms. On the 14th of September the Porte gave its consent in principle to the reforms in a telegram to Rustem Pasha, the Ambassador in London, and, after further negotiation, the

question was diplomatically concluded by a 'verbal note' of the Grand Vizier, Said Pasha. In addition to this the Sultan gave his word of honour in writing to Lord Salisbury that the reforms should be immediately and literally carried out. But the Sublime Porte had formed the conviction, in its dealings with the Powers, that this time it was their resolve that these reforms should be more than paper, and that, if the Porte wished to prevent the actual execution of the same, something definite must happen in the provinces to make the reforms impossible.

At the beginning of October, after the Armenian demonstration in Constantinople had furnished a pretext, the civil and military authorities in the provinces had already received their instructions. The annihilating machine of the Turkish government was set at full speed, and within three months the crushing of the Armenian population in all the provinces, for which the reforms were granted, was fully accomplished.

In face of this we again ask what were the Armenian massacres? We reply, an administrative measure of the Sublime Porte, whose one motive and object was to make the reforms enforced by the great Powers finally impracticable by the annihilation of the Armenian people.

A high official in Turkey, who has unusual opportunities of gaining information, expressed himself thus on the matter: 'Do not let yourselves be deceived by the absurd government reports that would throw the responsibility of the butchery on the Armenians; it was the



deliberate design of the government to chastise the Armenians; the Sultan was furious because he had been forced to grant these reforms, and so after he had signed the scheme of reform, he caused the Armenians to be massacred in order to show his power.'

Not long since a communication was made to the press whereby the Czar expressed himself to Prince Lobanoff as follows: 'Turkey appears to wish to deceive us. I neither can, nor will, allow these atrocities to continue until, it may be, the last Christian subject of the Sultan has been murdered. This state of things must come to an end.'

Herein lies the solution of the problem. But for the 100,000 Armenians who are in their graves, it is unhappily too late. But if it is really to come to this that European policy should change its time-honoured and fateful character, the painful truth must become universally known that it was the policy of the Christian Powers, and this alone, that has brought about the frightful annihilation of the Armenian people. Had the Powers turned their attention to the Greeks of Western, instead of to the Armenians of Eastern, Asia Minor, it can be confidently maintained that these would have met the same fate as Armenia. For in Armenia itself there was no sort of reason why the Armenians should have attracted the annihilating hatred of the Turkish government. 'The Armenian population was a peaceful one,' as the foreign minister, Turkhan Pasha, testified to the dragomans of England,

France, and Russia, 'till it attracted the sympathies of the great Powers.'

Had the powers left Armenia alone, the Armenians would to-day be, not indeed a happy people, but not the most unhappy people on the face of the earth. The fault is not that the European diplomatists took up the cause of a poor, down-trodden people, but rather that they did so in such a way that this people are obliged to pay for this policy with their blood.

It is always better to make shipwreck on the brutality of a barbarous government than on the sympathy of European nations. In the former case these poor people would have been spared the moral lectures of ignorant journalists, and the crocodile tears of European diplomatists. But people say that when the crocodile is lurking for prey it assumes the voice of a weeping child. Does not the parallel hold in some measure? What other explanation could these treaties have which, under the pretext of humanity, were intended to serve only the most brutal and self-interested policy? Or does there exist in Christian Europe a different political ideal? It is high time to show it.

#### 8. A MASQUE OF SATYRS

It must be allowed to the Turkish government that it was not entirely unsympathetic in regard to the distress of 500,000 people, who, owing to its own measures, had been robbed of all their possessions, their houses, their crops, their pro-

visions, their clothes, their beds, and their daily earnings, and delivered over to death by starvation. We leave it of course undecided whether it was an impulse of pity which here and there moved the authorities to assist the sufferers, or whether the government simply felt it needful, after the barbarous ruin and pillage of the inhabitants, still to claim for itself a reputation for humanity, and, in response to the repeated applications of the ambassadors, to be able to point to its 'magnificent relief work' as a proof of conscious innocence. We have no wish to conceal the *benevolent measures undertaken by the government*, but to make known all we have been able to learn with regard to them, so that nothing to its credit may be suppressed.

In the first place, the authorities provided for the sufferers in comprehensive fashion by assigning hundreds and thousands of Armenians to the prisons, partly, as they alleged, to protect them from the violence of the Turkish rabble, and also to provide them with a secure shelter, after the destruction of their houses. In Arabkir, for instance, after the murder of 4000 Armenians, careful search was organised by the police, and all the survivors among the men, without exception, were consigned to prison. This example was followed in every place in which prisons existed.

The stage of humanity to which Turkish prison-life has attained can be learnt from the accounts given by Dillon, and from a document at the end of this section. Accordingly large crowds of

fugitives were transported from the mountain districts into the towns under military escort. When the Turkish governor of Marash was informed that the soldiers and Bashi-Bazouks were threatening the fugitives thus conducted by them, in the most brutal fashion, his reply was, '*Let them die!*' On the other hand, fugitives were also sent back from the towns into the villages. From Van, whither 30,000 people had fled, 3000 were sent back to the country by order of the government; but all the villages to which they returned were again attacked and plundered, so that everything which had been left from the pillage in autumn, was now taken from them. The commissioner of the Porte, upon whose assurances these people had been sent back, expressed the deepest commiseration for this mischance, and immediately sent the chief of police to the nearest villages. A detachment of the men arrived at the scene of disturbance, while the Kurds were still in sight, since it was impossible for the latter owing to the bad state of the roads to make off quickly with the flocks of stolen sheep. The police fired a few shots into the air, and then held a parley with the robbers, whereupon these proceeded unmolested, and the police returned to the plundered village. There they settled down till every remaining fowl and all other provisions still left were consumed.

Here and there in the towns bread was distributed to the starving people, but this, to be sure, *seldom lasted more than a few days*. In Sivas it was even given out that the government would

distribute 4000 kilos. of seed-corn. After careful inquiry it turned out, however, that only in one single village had any corn been distributed, and there, too late for sowing.

Here and there money was distributed by the Zaptiehs in the villages. In one village near Erzeroum, the relief consisted of two Medjidiehs (7s. 2d.), and on the score of this the five mounted soldiers, who were intrusted with its distribution, got themselves and their horses boarded and lodged for twelve days. In Arabkir the authorities gave out corn to widows and orphans *to last fourteen days*, the amount per head being two okes (about five pounds weight).

That was all that remained of the provisions that had been consumed, but even this relief was only dealt out to the handsomest widows and girls, and that under the most shameful conditions. The Sultan himself too provided gifts which were distributed in the localities where compulsory conversions had taken place, and this was done with a careful preference for those who had furnished the best proofs of their conversion to Islam. Not only the government *but also the Turkish population* here and there showed sympathetic tendencies towards the Armenians. For example, in Severeke during the massacre, some Christians found shelter among friendly Turks, and were boarded there, whilst their hosts were actively joining in the plunder of their houses. After this, on their return to their empty houses, their charitable friends *lent* them what was absolutely necessary in the way of beds and clothing,

and were not so hard-hearted as to refuse them alms, permitting them to perform trivial services in their houses for a few pence. At Aintab, the chief Moslems even went so far as to invite the Armenians to hand over to them any of their remaining possessions, in order that they might look after them till better times came.

Seeing that the pillage of the Armenians had been organised by the government, it redounds all the more to its glory that in some places it furnished a public proof of its right feeling by at once taking in hand the restoration of stolen property. To be sure, it was not the hundredth part, and only worthless loot which, amid the cheers of the Turkish rabble, was offered in public places to such as were inclined to accept insult as well as injury. But the government had once more, in the eyes of the whole world, displayed its impartiality in the administration of justice. In accordance with the common experience that thieves make the best detectives, the government intrusted those who had prominently distinguished themselves in the pillage with the recovery of the lost property, and thus, with much ceremony, the plunder did reach other hands, but certainly not those of the rightful owners.

From various places it is reported that the police, commissioned by the government to restore stolen property, not only did nothing of the sort, but, on the contrary, under threats of burning down the remaining houses, *extorted considerable sums of money in addition*. Who

can blame the poor devils, if they kept ornaments or objects of value taken at random, as an equivalent for their pay which they had not received for some months? and who could expect from them such profound psychological insight that they should take seriously the commands of those authorities who first employed them to plunder and then commissioned them with the discovery of the thieves? The result was therefore in accordance with the experience of the village near Erzeroum, from which 12,000 sheep were stolen, and thanks to the interference of the government, two whole sheep—a ram and a ewe—were restored, doubtless with the intention that these in the course of years, after a suitable increase, should be the cause of fresh depredation. Moreover, occasionally the authorities took upon them to pursue the Kurds, and seize some of the booty, the result of which was only to double the enmity of the Kurds against the Christians, without any restoration of their property.

It was inevitable that such a thoroughgoing annihilation of prosperity in eight large provinces should be followed by an *alarming decrease in the imperial treasury*, owing to the cessation of all business. Hence, of course, no one can blame the authorities for setting the tax-collectors on the track of the recipients of relief—a circumstance which helped at last to gain permission for the distribution of money and gifts by European committees of relief. At any rate, by means of taxes, part of the supplies might be conveyed into the public treasury. And the tax-collectors,

too, had learnt during the massacres how money could be got. One poor wretch of an Armenian, who had not a para to give, they tortured by placing a chain round his waist, which drew together when it was pulled. They flung the chain over a high beam and drew him up by it, presenting him at the same time with the receipt for what was due. He expressed his regret that he had no money and could raise none. However, they tugged away till the blood streamed from mouth and nose; and then, as nothing was to be got from him, let him hang for a while longer.

The ambition of the authorities *to keep the alleviation of Armenian distress in their own hands* was just as great as was once the rivalry of the great Powers in forwarding the prosperity of the Armenian people. When, therefore, after the massacres, European committees of relief were formed to preserve hundreds of thousands of sufferers from starvation, the distribution of provisions was expressly prohibited by the Sublime Porte, and where begun without permission it was suspended. For a long time the agents of relief, when surprised in the illicit practice of benevolence, were simply arrested so that no more would devote themselves to this dangerous calling. It is solely to the credit of the inflexible energy of the English Ambassador that the Sublime Porte gradually accommodated itself in this regard to European opinion. Meanwhile, however, hundreds had died of hunger. An especially instructive case occurred in Biredjik.

It was known that there two hundred families, compulsory converts to Islam, were simply left to starve by their new co-religionists; even their beds and clothes were not given back to them. The English missionary, Dr. Christie, immediately set out with some waggons full of provisions and clothes, and with a recommendation from the Vali of Aleppo. The letter of the Vali must have been of a remarkable nature. When Dr. Christie reached Biredjik and paid his respects to the Kaimakam, he was indeed complimented to his face, but behind his back the object of his journey was rendered futile. The sufferers were prevented by the police from coming into contact with him, and had to content themselves with giving him to understand, by making the sign of the cross from the roofs of houses, that they would gladly become Christians again. The great Armenian church was turned into a mosque, the smaller Protestant church, which according to report had been subjected to the most degrading uses, had indeed been cleaned out. Yet loose leaves of an old Bible were lying about in a highly suspicious condition. Every day Dr. Christie's stay in the place became more dangerous, for guns were continually fired about him, so that on the fourth day he determined to withdraw with his whole store of charitable gifts, and returned to Aleppo, his mission unaccomplished. Before his departure he complained to the Kaimakam, who had the effrontery to assert his belief that the Armenians did not wish to have anything to do with him, since, as newly-converted Mohammedans, they

were now too proud to take anything from a Christian; if, however, he liked to bring an order from Aleppo for the distribution of help, without distinction, to all needy Mohammedans, he would be glad to receive it from him. That is all that we have been able to ascertain with certainty about the measures taken by the Turkish government for the alleviation of distress.

The Sublime Porte, as one of the great Powers, has a seat and a voice in the European Concert, and therefore must also possess the ambition to fall behind no civilised state in regard to the maintenance of justice. Hence it is only right to ask what action it has taken in order to exercise its judicial office, in face of the enormous number of scandalous deeds wrought by its own magistrates, officers, and soldiers, as well as by Kurdish brigands and Turkish populace. We quote, as in duty bound, the information given on this point in the Ambassadors' Report: 'The court-martial instituted to discover the persons guilty of the crimes of the 8th of October, *confined itself to giving advice to the Mussulmans*. As for the Armenians, they were arrested *en masse*, on the pretext of protecting them from the Mussulmans. Eight were condemned to death, and twenty-five to several years' imprisonment.'

Again, in Erzeroum, 'the Kurdish chief, Hussein Pasha Haideranli, who was summoned to give an account of his proceedings, was not called before the court-martial, although the gravest charges were brought against him.' In Harpout, 'as the officers, soldiers, and gendarmes had taken

part in the pillaging, the authorities did not dare to take steps to punish any one.'

'The commission appointed at Aleppo, in connection with the Administrative Council, to try the disturbers of the peace, performed its duties in a lamentable manner.' At Ak-Hissar, 'Arrests took place subsequently to the massacres, but several Circassians—the worst offenders—escaped from prison, and no measures of repression were taken.'

That is all the Commissioners have to inform us, though, after the massacres, they made careful notes of the action of Turkish officers, and of the execution of Turkish justice. But no,—we had nearly omitted an extraordinary occurrence. In Erzeroum, 'Two hundred Turks and Lazes who had taken part in the plundering were arrested, and the authorities state that they had more than one hundred of them shot.'

It is a pity that a few consuls were not invited to witness this extraordinary spectacle, the more so as it is well known that Turkish prisons have a remarkable arrangement in the case of Mohammedans who have injured Christians, by which, when the door is shut in front, another opens behind. For the rest, in order to give public satisfaction to the sense of justice, *all Armenian delinquents*, even in Constantinople, were hanged *coram publico* in the open street. It was a precaution as wise as it was just, that most of the higher officials, military and civil, who had had a specially prominent share in the massacres were immediately recalled and placed in other positions

of high authority. Of course, by this means, all further investigation was obviated. Certainly the Sublime Porte could not allow itself to be accused of not making the most energetic efforts to discover and to punish the instigators of all the mischief. And it gained its object, as the following communication to the *Frankfort Journal* proves:—

'Constantinople, the 12th of August. — After the Porte had made the strange demand to the mixed council of the Armenian Patriarchate that it should assume full responsibility from this time forward for all misdemeanours which should happen in Armenian quarters, it was to be anticipated that neither Monsignor Izmirlian nor his council would agree to such an absurd claim, and elect to receive their own discharge. The government, whose aim this was from the beginning, came out victorious, and now holds all the threads in its hands for the regulation of Armenian questions according to its own good pleasure. In the choice of the temporary representative of the Patriarch, the Palace clique first lighted on Bishop Kirkis Ohannesian, a creature of the court party. Whether secret intrigues went on at the end, or whether after all he was not considered a particularly safe man, in any case, at the last moment, the choice fell on the present Archbishop of Broussa, Bartholomäus Tschomtschian, whose former attitude set all doubts at rest, since for many years he had been drawing a monthly subsidy of £30 as a spy. This was the man appointed as *locum tenens*.'

#### A TURKISH PRISON

'I write these lines from the prison at G. We were somewhere about five hundred persons from

M., Y., O. and other places, and all of us were political prisoners. Some of us were set free, for even the Turkish law, with all its adroitness, was not able to fabricate any transgression that could lead to conviction.

'In order to get grounds for their accusations they first had resort to most terrible means in order to extort confessions; the rack, the scourge, violation, nakedness, hunger, and thirst took the place of the usual judicial procedure, and the cold of winter helped to make these violent measures the most insupportable. For a bed a few rags, for food stale bread gnawed by mice, for drink stinking water in dirty vessels; everything was arranged to satisfy the needs, or rather the bare hunger and thirst of the prisoners, in the scantiest manner. Old rusty chains, heavy with balls and weights, and iron hand-cuffs and stocks came into use. Some had them fastened round their necks, others round their ankles, most on their hands, in order to oblige them to declare what the government and the prison officials desired to hear.

'It was thought most fitting to choose the long awful nights of winter for the aforesaid examinations. Sometimes about three o'clock, sometimes at midnight, sometimes towards morning could be heard from all corners of the prison, groans and sobs, and weeping, or heart-rending cries of "I don't know!" or "I never saw it," or "Oh, I am dying!" etc., mingled with the horrid roars and curses of the Turkish prisoners. The shrieks and cries of agony under the strokes

of the bastinado, which every night is the portion of some one or other in a Turkish prison, the wailing of others who lay naked upon heaps of snow, and again of others who were being burned with red-hot irons; "Stop, you monsters!" "I am freezing to death!" "I am being roasted!" "Only kill me and put me out of this torture!" such exclamations were drowned by the songs and noise raised by the prison officials. Tortures like these were endured by many. I have merely mentioned such methods of torment as could be described; others, however, were applied in the case of youths as well as older men, of so unprecedented a nature that my pen would refuse to record them. These shocking brutalities were carried out at the command of the officials by the Turkish robbers and murderers in the prison. Even the days of Christmas and New Year's eve were filled with these barbarous torments. As fresh crowds of captives were continually being brought to the prison, the pestilential privies had to serve for sleeping-rooms, and the court of the prison, in spite of the winter frost, was used as a dwelling-place for new arrivals, who were chained to the windows.

'Each prisoner was forced to give up everything he had with him and which might have made his position more endurable. Many of those under arrest lay in the coal-cellars; the charcoal brought during the day was thrown down upon them, and after that followed a stream of water. Well-to-do young men and respectable merchants were so disfigured in this way that



they looked like apparitions and became as filthy as swine.

'I will make a list of those prisoners who were subjected to the worst torture.

1. 'Name. Place. Forty years old. Teacher. At seven o'clock in the evening two merchants arrived with thirty armed police, and, under the pretext of searching his house, broke his furniture to pieces, took away his papers and books, and threw him into prison. For forty-eight hours he suffered hunger and thirst, for six days he lay on bare damp earth, while the bastinado was not spared.

2. 'Name. Place. Forty-one years old. After a previous beating he was made to sit on filth and great vessels of cold water were poured on his head. It was winter. Then half of his moustache was plucked out, and, with arms tightly bound, he was hung up head downwards. What next followed cannot be described. Finally the victim, now almost tortured to death, was subjected to a horrible operation with a red-hot iron. For eight days the poor wretch endured torments of this kind.

3. 'Name. Place. Twenty-three years old. Teacher. He was badly beaten and for four hours was hung up head downwards. Next he was forced to kneel the whole night long on wet earth. Finally a cord was fastened round his neck and he was dragged along the floor for some distance so that he barely escaped suffocation.

4. 'Name. Place. Thirty years old. He was arrested by mistake instead of another man of the same name. For twenty-four hours he had to

sit in filth, while buckets of ice-cold water were flung over him. Then red-hot irons were placed on his body and he was tortured in the same indescribable manner as No. 2. When the Governor discovered that he was not the right man, he ordered him to his presence and said "My son, give up your claim, they took you by mistake."

5. 'Name. Place. Eighteen years old. He had just finished his studies. He was first stripped, inhumanly scourged, hung up head downwards, and in this position again beaten with rods. Finally he had to lie for days together in filth, suffering from hunger and thirst. The Governor beat the poor fellow with his own hand in the court of justice.

6. 'Name. Place. Forty-five years old. Although arrested by mistake, he was for ten days a victim of the most horrible torture and shameful usage, and then hung up for four days from nails fastened at some distance from the ground. Nearly dead, he asked for water. The policeman brought a pail of water, held it up till it touched his lips, and then struck his head with the pail till the blood flowed. It was then announced to the overseer that he was dying. They took his chains off and buried him naked in the snow as if dead. For a few hours he remained in this position, till it was discovered that the poor wretch had been arrested by mistake. As his death seemed imminent he was at once set at liberty.

'Seventeen other cases of this kind follow. We think, however, that these are enough and more than enough. We shall only add that at present



the prisons are so full that only a portion of the prisoners can lie down at night. For the rest, the prisons are so pestilential with human ordure and every kind of vermin that cattle could not be placed in such dwellings. If any one is bold enough to protest against the treatment he receives, he is immediately flung into a darker cell and becomes a prey to every caprice of his inhuman guards.'

#### 9. FAMINE

Our country boasts that it leads the van in the cause of humanity. And yet—that a famine of the most gigantic proportions was reigning in Armenia by the end of last year and is still reigning, and that 500,000 men, in order to escape death by starvation, are in actual fact dependent on the support of the Christians of the West—of these things *nothing* is known in Germany.

Imperial diplomacy will have it that in Armenia there have neither been massacres nor famine prevalent, and the obedient semi-official press—and which of our papers where the Eastern question is concerned does not come under that head?—valiantly suppresses everything that is known or could be learnt about Armenia. For where our good friend the Turk is concerned Christian politics follow the command of our German catechism—'to excuse him, to speak good of him, and to put the best construction on all he does.'

When news reaches us from any quarter of the world of a fire or flood or epidemic—and our scrupulous Press allows itself to be guilty of no delay in this respect—collections are made for the sufferers, charity concerts and exhibitions are given, bazaars are arranged, Church collections are announced, the nobility of all grades take the lead in relief committees, and nothing is left undone, till the public conscience is satisfied that the need is met. But with Armenia it is a different matter. In this case the necessities of imperial politics bid compassion be silent and a prudent public, well-trained with regard to all that is official—Press as well as Church—obey. It has been left to 'perfidious' England, and to Christians in another hemisphere, to assist the starving Armenians. Indeed had there not been in England and America a large Christian public, which possessed not only political judgment (thanks to an independent Press) but also a heart to feel for a poor down-trodden people, all the survivors of the massacres, that is to say hundreds of thousands of men, robbed of all their goods, clothes, bedding, houses, and daily bread, and hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans, would have died of hunger.

The end and aim of the Turkish policy of extermination would thus have been attained, the world would have been rid of the Armenian question, and it would only have remained for the European concert to play the 'Dead March.' But, thank God, England and America have, with a magnificent generosity that has raised

thousands of pounds, saved the Armenian race from the fate which the Sublime Porte desired and have rescued those who escaped the sword from death by starvation.

But Germany, too, has done something for Armenia. Among the so-called Pietists of North and South Germany 50,000 marks (£2500) were collected from people of small means through the agency of religious pamphlets of which the political Press knows nothing. The Evangelical Alliance also, by its appeal, collected 50,000 marks in Christian circles. A few daily papers, like the *Reichsbote*, did their part, and the readers of the *Christliche Welt*, thoroughly informed about Armenia, thanks to the manly and truth-loving character of the editor, were prominent contributors. Kaiserswerth, too, raised about 50,000 marks for Armenian orphans. That is all that Germany has done for the Armenians. Thus only, in the sphere of the most decided Christian faith, has sympathy with the victims of European politics not been suppressed by this very political system itself. It is a remarkable fact that Frankfort-on-the-Main has been almost the only town in Germany, which by means of its political and religious Press has really interested itself in the Armenians. To the honour of the *Frankfort Journal* be it said that it gave, and still gives, the best and most impartial news about Armenia. Independently of it, both the *Christliche Welt* and the pamphlet *Für Alle* by Pastor Lohmann, of which 90,000 copies were circulated, have since the beginning of the year championed the Armenians. Pastor

Lohmann, alone collected about one-third of all the contributions for Armenia raised in Germany.

Why is the rest of Germany, the official sphere, ignorant of the famine in Armenia? Possibly the fact that the 100,000 victims slain must have left about 400,000 widows and orphans, and that a population, rendered completely destitute, their very clothes stolen from their backs, their beds taken, their provisions burnt, and their dwellings destroyed, are in daily danger of starvation, is still a matter difficult of belief.

But it ought to have been considered that the relief-committees which have fed this wretched, naked, houseless, and starving people during ten months must be aware how matters stand. Perhaps some day an energetic reporter for our chief daily papers, which in other cases are so glad to publish interviews with all the world, will apply to the English Ambassador in Constantinople, the chairman of the international relief-committee (in which unfortunately Germany alone is unrepresented), and will ask him for information on the subject.

In the meantime, let us have a few statistics. A little while ago inquiries were made, in the twenty European relief stations distributed over Armenia, as to how many people would die of hunger if the assistance were to cease. From eight stations information came in. The statistics, which were drawn up from accurate lists from all the districts and villages in receipt of relief, gave the whole number as 270,000 people. The number

of the sufferers, as far as we have any definite returns, amounts to:—

|            |       |               |
|------------|-------|---------------|
| Trebizond, | . . . | 4,000         |
| Erzeroum,  | . . . | 40,000        |
| Bitlis,    | . . . | 20,000        |
| Van,       | . . . | 97,000        |
| Harpout,   | . . . | 100,000       |
| Sivas,     | . . . | 180,000       |
| Diarbekir, | . . . | 30,000        |
| Aleppo,    | . . . | 50,000        |
| Adana,     | . . . | 17,000        |
| Angora,    | . . . | 8,000         |
|            |       | <hr/> 546,000 |

In all these vilayets, however, there are numerous isolated districts to which no one went to institute inquiries. In order to produce a more vivid impression of the awful misery, we subjoin some accounts taken at random from the scene of distress.

*Harpout.*—Few Armenians have been in a position to sow in spring, and the inhabitants have had no harvest. Even the local authorities besought the government for immediate help in order to ward off a universal famine during the next winter.

*Ourfa.*—In the town of Ourfa alone there are 12,000 in distress, and of these 10,000 are widows and orphans, bereft of their bread-winners, and exposed to the direst want.

*Malatia.*—In the days after the massacre all the Armenians fled from the burning houses with the one idea of saving their lives, and took

nothing with them except, in many cases, the wretched clothing which they had on, so that many had to use the blood-stained garments of those who had been murdered. Out of 2000 plundered families of 8000 souls there are only 50 families which are not reduced to abject despair. Delicate women, whose husbands and grown-up sons had been murdered, their houses burnt, their property pillaged, live in huts and gloomy cellars; some well-to-do in former times are now clothed in rags, and have not bread to eat. Many of them go begging from door to door, or stand asking alms in the market-place. In their shops sit the men who have made them widows and have plundered them of every earthly possession, and fling them a handful of copper coins, jeering at the poor women when they try to snatch up crumbs like dogs; 2750 beds are required, for, since the massacre, the poor people sleep on straw and rags; whole families for the sake of warmth sleep huddled together, the older members often using the younger as pillows; 2000 garments are required if each family is to have but one, for very few have more than one article of clothing, and of 7500 completely destitute persons, each one needs 40 paras (2d) simply for daily bread. Many die of hunger and cold. If these thousands of widows and orphans are left in this condition, they must perish in their misery and die of despair. No bread, no clothing, no beds, no work, but sickness in almost every family. This condition is more awful than death.

*Arabkir.*—Out of more than 400 Christian homes there are only 30 families left which have no victims to lament, but all are suffering from hunger and nakedness. There are no means of procuring a piece of bread. The little children wander about quite naked, and without food, crying out 'Hatz, hatz' (bread, bread).

*Sivas.*—The accounts from the villages are everywhere pretty much the same. The majority of the houses are burnt, all articles of clothing, beds, etc., have been carried off, the survivors take refuge in straw, and children die of cold and hunger. Many of the people are wounded and uncared for. An officer says that he has known women who had gone to a Turkish village to beg a little bread, and who had died of hunger and cold on the way.

*Erzeroum.*—In the province of Erzeroum over 50,000 persons have now been given relief. No attempt has been made to banish poverty, the one thought is to keep the people alive. A young man, who had walked for ninety miles through dangerous regions, asked for relief. His account was as follows: There are eighty-five Armenian houses in the village to which he belongs. Every house was pillaged, and many persons were killed. The butchery took place when the corn was ripe in the fields. No one dared to leave the village to reap it. The Kurds came down, divided the fields among themselves, cut the corn and carried it away. The present misery is indescribable. Several persons have died of hunger. The father and brother of the young

man were murdered, and he had left his wife and several small children in the deepest misery in order to tell of the need of his own village and of others equally distressed.

In the province of Harpout, 60,000 people in 300 villages received relief. We quote the following from a letter that describes the need in that district:—

'I should like to say a few words about the position here; I have tried to look hopefully at the future, and to believe that the people would be able to retrieve their fortunes. I have made the most accurate calculations of the help which will be necessary in order to protect the people from death by starvation, but I see that the more I investigate, the question becomes more difficult, and the need assumes more terrible proportions.

'A fortnight ago I visited some of the villages with Dr. Hubbell and Mr. Fontana, the English Vice-Consul. The first was Sorseri, half a mile from Mezreh, formerly a large and well-to-do village. Out of 160 houses, 155 have been burnt, but the village lies so near the seat of government that there is less to fear than in a more remote spot. They have trees, too, and in many yards we saw timber, which led us to conclude they intended to build their houses again. This we were glad to see, and we came to the conclusion that this village might recover with little or no help. We passed Sorseri and Vank, where the monastery, the church, and all the houses lay in ruins, and came to Tadem. Here we rode up a high hill which commands the village, and the whole scene of devastation lay before us. Formerly the village contained 250 houses, of which 200 are now blackened heaps of ruins. The only lot of timber

which we saw lay near the houses of the Agas, who, by means of forced labour, were building a magnificent "konak."

'Not one Christian has attempted to build a shelter for himself. They live in the ruins of their houses, and typhus fever has claimed a victim in almost every family.

'From there we rode to Huelu, formerly the largest and richest village in all the plain of Harpout. Here again we remarked the trouble that had been taken to reduce the houses to ruin. They are plastered with clay, and have clay roofs, so that from the outside it is not easy to set them on fire, but the assailants had brought petroleum, with which they set them alight, one after the other. So thoroughly was the work accomplished that the people had only the stables and cellars, and the corners of their demolished houses left for dwelling-places.

'We tried to encourage the people to build their houses again, but they answered us with the word that is heard oftener than any other in this land, "Fear."

'Fear and despair describe the situation. They say, "We are afraid to undertake anything at all, for fear we might be attacked again." A Turkish boy said to some of the Christians, "I told you last autumn what was going to happen, and you would not believe me. Now you are beginning again to till your fields, but I tell you your labour will be in vain."

'The same news comes in from all sides. From the region of Palu we hear of ever-increasing terrors. In the villages of Agun the Turks are again threatening the inhabitants. The Christians feel that there is no security for them, and they have no courage to set to work. I asked them, "What will you do in winter, if you build no shelter during the summer?" They replied, "We shall die. We have sold everything that

was left. Our resources are exhausted. If no help comes we must die." Even in the villages near Harpout, Keserik, Morenik, and others, no houses are being built. The people say, "If no help comes, we must try to fly from the country."

'We tried to encourage them to build, but we could offer them no money for timber. We urged them to till their fields, but we could give them no oxen. The time of autumn-sowing passed by unregarded, and nothing was sown in spring. So far as can be seen, it is probable that those who escaped death last winter must die next winter if no permanent help is given them. The support we gave merely kept the people alive. How near they came to starvation you can learn from another village which I visited to-day. Korpey consisted formerly of 150 houses of which, perhaps, fifteen are still standing; the others are completely destroyed. Only the walls remain to show what a fine village it was. The people are walking about in rags; only twelve houses have any beds. Throughout the winter they have slept on the floor without covering. The tops of all the trees round the village have been hewn off, so that only the bare trunks remain. The villagers cut down the branches in winter to exchange them in the town for the necessities of life. Neither sheep nor cattle are left; two dogs only remain. In the houses I found neither corn nor any other provisions. In a few houses there was a *little* bread, in *all* lay small bundles of grass, which is now their chief food. The faces of the women and children were yellow and emaciated. I asked a little fellow if he had had any bread to-day, and he answered, "No,"—he had only had grass to eat. Other children told us that they had eaten a piece of bread as large as my hand. As we sat on the ground surrounded by most of the

villagers, children were gathering grass which they ate, roots and all. As far as I can judge only a few days lie between these people and death by starvation. I hope, before this happens, to be able to help them. I am buying corn for them, but what alarms me is the future. From this some idea may be gained of the hopelessness of the case. They tell us, too, that the contributions are becoming smaller, and that certainly points to the fact that there is nothing before the people but slow death. I give with the greatest economy, in spite of the constantly increasing pressure, and I am making a list of the villages to which, in summer at least, no help is to be given. I am refusing beds and clothing, terribly as they are needed, but, in spite of all my efforts, our money will soon come to an end, and what then?

'Is there no hope? The people look at us imploringly and ask: "Is there no hope for us?" I repeat the question. Perhaps light will come, but now everything is dark, except indeed when we look up. The request from Arabkir, Palu, and Peri are urgent. We need £100,000 for this district, but have not been bold enough to ask for it. Even we ourselves cannot completely review the situation. Only, when the frightful need surrounds us, we get some idea of it. Do not cease trying to procure help for us.

'Yesterday I visited another village, Ashvan. I was for thirteen hours in the saddle, not reckoning the time taken up in visiting each separate village. This village had ninety-five houses, of which half have been burnt, and these the best. This was done by neighbouring Turks and Kurds about eight days after the plunder of the village by Kurds from Dersim.

'The people have more habitable rooms than in Huelu or Korpey. It is pitiful to go from house to

house and find no beds, no kitchen utensils—in one place I saw them using an old petroleum can for their cooking; the houses were stripped. In Ashvan I found in almost every house a few provisions, some handfuls of meal or Indian corn, but only enough to last them at most for two days.

'During the winter we have just kept them alive. If you had not sent us help, thousands must have perished. But what touched me more deeply than the actual need was the hopelessness of their condition, if no permanent help is given. Cattle are especially needed. The ploughing for autumn sowing must be begun now while there is moisture in the ground. When the ground is hard and dried up they are not able to plough, and if they do not plough there will be no harvest in the following year. In many villages the land is taken away from the Christians, and in the village of Ashvan, I saw that Turks and Kurds came out of the neighbouring villages and ploughed the fields. Some took the land by force, others have got the land from the owners who gave it up to them because they had oxen and could till it. When the Christians lose their land it is only a question of time how soon they give up their houses and have recourse to the town, where they must either live on charity or die.

'In the district of Charsandjak the Christians were evicted in crowds by the landed proprietors. For God's sake draw the attention of the committee to this matter, and, if possible, see that help is sent.

'Many a time have I been tempted to leave all as it is and go to Constantinople, and from thence to Europe, in order to make clear the hopelessness of the situation. I visited eight villages, and my own eyes have been opened; but how *can* people understand all this when they live thousands of miles away? Ought

not these things, late as it is, to be seriously considered? My heart is heavy and I can hardly bear the pressure of the load of want to which I can send no relief. Lately, as I rode through a village, all the inhabitants came out into the street and cried, weeping as they spoke, "We are hungry, hungry, hungry," as we rode on. This cry pursues me. I have sent some help in order to postpone the day of starvation, but their fields lie fallow, their houses are in ruins, and no hand is stretched out to raise and support them. What must the end be?

'This morning some village people came here from Terjan—the centre of a group of villages—in order to seek for help. Their appearance was an eloquent appeal to pity. They had walked for eighteen hours over two snow-covered mountain ranges. One man who had formerly been sufficiently well-to-do to accommodate eighteen or twenty guests in his house was now in rags, and these, indeed, so thin that they would hardly have been a sufficient covering in summer. Another, a giant in stature, had both his arms crippled by the cruel blows of the soldiers. The people of the village, from which this deputation came, were destitute of everything that a human being needs; no mattress and no coverlet was left them, and during the months of winter they had all slept in straw and hay. They arranged for the night in the following fashion:—First, they threw the straw upon the ground and then they lay as close as they possibly could to one another; the man before mentioned covered them with the hay and then crept under it himself as well as he could. Some of these villages were plundered, with intermissions, for forty days by the Kurds.

'From the village all who escaped the sword fled to the mountains, where they remained for three weeks without venturing to return to their houses. During

this time they had on no other clothes than those which they happened to be wearing at the time of the incursion. The weather was bitterly cold. Twenty children were born to them in the mountains, and not one child survived the flight. From these villages ten girls were carried off, and not one of them was allowed to return. The Turks and Kurds are specially on the track of unmarried women. The newly married are somewhat less exposed to their violence, so the villagers set to work and married all their girls from eight years old and upward as a means of protection against these brutal fiends. In the thirty-two villages which compose the group of Terjan an unmarried girl over eight years old is not to be found. If only this reign of terror would come to an end, this suffering and patient people would take up again the torn threads of life, and begin it anew; but they live daily in fear and terror of death. They never lie down with the certainty of being safe till morning, and they never rise up with the confidence that they will see the evening. They do not dare to go from one village to another, and their women scarcely venture outside the door; they live in a state of piteous captivity. In spite of all the trouble taken to guard the women, no man dares to call his wife his own or protect his daughter, when the ruffianly soldiers, undeterred by fear of punishment, come upon them. The Kurds and his majesty's regular troops come into a village and establish themselves there all day long. They demand what they want and must be supplied without a moment's delay. Thus those villagers are impoverished, who have not been so unfortunate as to be rendered quite destitute. The way in which these poor people look into our faces and ask—'What will become of us?' is enough to melt a heart of stone. The supplicating expression in their faces when they look at you search-

ing for some least shadow of hope or help is so touching that we often have to turn away to relieve our feelings by tears. The nervous tension from listening to the stories of these poor villagers is often so great that we withdraw from such conversations wholly exhausted. There is only one thing that helps to lighten this strain, and that is the open and hearty gratitude of these people for the least compassion. May the blessing of God come upon all those who give them even a cup of cold water for their refreshment !'

We add a report from another desolated town and district.

*Visit to Gurun.*—I visited this place a short time ago. The condition of the people there is indescribable. Now, where once lay a charming and fertile district, there is nothing, as far as the eye can reach, but an empty desolate coal-black mass to be seen, a picture of what a frightful cannonade can accomplish. The ruined walls, which before were snugly embowered in well-cultivated orchards, remained as a witness of happiness and prosperity destroyed. As I went from one ruined house to another, I heard only thrilling cries from the lips of wives and mothers from whom everything had been taken. The survivors are herded together in isolated stalls, and here and there in a single room, the only remnant of a once habitable house. The wretched people were dressed in rags which were bound round their loins with a string, and this, their sole clothing, was hardly enough to cover their nakedness. Mothers came and begged me for help to

find their captive daughters. Taken altogether, it would be hard to imagine a more heartrending picture than that which I saw. After careful calculation we find there are 5075 persons in Gurun, who need daily support if they are not to starve. For two and a half months they have received no support from the government, not one grain of corn ; and what is true of Gurun, is true also of many other villages, where, besides the famine, many diseases, and especially typhus fever, are said to be spreading.

The village of Gigi, near Cæsarea, had only thirty-five houses and two hundred and fifty inhabitants. As the plunderers approached, the people fled, and therefore saved the clothing which they had on at the time. When they returned they found scarcely anything more than the roofs standing. Everything portable had been carried away, even their looms. I went into every house, opened their meal chests, and examined all the dark corners with a candle. Two hours sufficed for this inspection. Most of the houses consisted of only two rooms, the first room showed only four clay walls and a clay floor, in the middle of which was a hole. In this hole was a fire, and around that five to ten children or grown-up people were seated warming themselves. In many houses the meal chests had been broken open, and there was nothing to inspect. If I asked what they would have to eat to-morrow, they answered 'God only knows. To-day we have borrowed, and perhaps to-morrow we can borrow again.' In the whole village there



was not a single bed, and hardly anything that one could call a coverlet, nothing but little heaps of rags, which they keep most carefully as the only things they have with which they can cover themselves at night. We want to send them some help to keep them alive. Messengers have arrived from the district of Gemarek, who bring us news of the beginning of a famine, and the corn which we have bought here we must share with them at once.

*News from Hulakesh.*—The people here postpone death by tearing up the young blades to get the seed-corn. They also eat grass and so forth. The government gave them some grain, but the Kurds took it away again.

*Van.*—The terrible devastation of the district of Van in the autumn (and since that time a second attack has taken place in June) has stripped the people of their all. They may be seen everywhere covering their nakedness with leaves of bushes, and living on anything that they can find in the fields. Thousands of those who are perishing from hunger arrive daily in the town in an indescribable condition, and beg for bread, and articles of clothing. Thousands of women and girls wander about, shelterless and hungry, in the snow-covered streets. They have been robbed of all their clothing down to one garment—occasionally they have only one rag left to cover them. The relief committees are by no means in a condition to cope with such need. The price of meal is almost double what it was, and the people have neither seed nor cattle to enable them to resume their agricultural work.

From the beginning, one of the greatest difficulties has been how to care for the sick. The thousands who fled out of the villages into the towns, as a consequence of the butcheries and the plundering in the autumn, found some sort of refuge in the houses of the town, but the quarters they occupied were mostly stables, or dark, damp storehouses, with floors of bare earth. It is hard to keep well in such dwellings as these, and the condition of the sick was pitiable in the highest degree.

To provide medicines for the sick who were in such a condition was simply a mockery. The probability that they would be used, or at any rate rightly used, was very small indeed. Even if they were, the right medicines, without food and without nursing, could effect little. A few visits to the sick in this condition convinced me that very different circumstances must be provided, especially as the present state of things induced much typhus fever, which is on the increase.

*Aleppo.*—Aleppo is flooded with fugitives who have nothing, *absolutely nothing* more than their sickly bodies full of wounds and mutilations.

In the massacre districts, naturally, nothing has been sown, and in consequence there is nothing to reap, and the need there is something awful. Whatever provisions, and so-forth, the Turkish soldiers found, they took with them, and what they could not carry away was delivered over to fire and destruction, as also were the houses.

The land is a wilderness. For the most part

the corpses lie about unburied, and spread abroad pestilential effluvia, so that epidemics must, as a consequence, follow, and indeed already are beginning to appear. One waggon comes up after another laden with blood-stained articles of clothing which have been taken from the Christians; women and children are stripped naked, and if they are not dragged off into captivity, not even the smallest article of clothing is left them. In Zeitoun, typhus fever and virulent small-pox have broken out, and threaten to become epidemic.

*Diarbekir.*—In the monastery of Mar Kiriakos, standing on the left of the street which leads from Diarbekir to Seert, the cholera broke out, so that we heard of fifty deaths daily. In this monastery and its village, 1500 families had taken refuge from the surrounding region, of whom between 2000 and 3000 persons were herded together in the buildings of the monastery itself. Also in Seert the cholera broke out. Even the Arab and Turkish townsmen, especially the lesser artisans and workers, began to suffer want, as they could get no occupation in consequence of the universal impoverishment and uncertainty.

The following letter, begging for help, signed by twenty-nine widows, has been received from a village close to A. These widows say: 'Our husbands had died before the butcheries, and we were poor; but we had work, and our richer neighbours helped us. Then the Kurds came, and they considered neither rich nor poor, but took everything that they found. Now we have nothing left, and we can neither get work in the villages nor receive

charity. Some of us have grown-up sons, but these have neither work nor tools.' These poor women close their letter with expressions of thankfulness for the very small amount of help vouchsafed to them. They write: 'May the Giver of all good grant you heavenly gifts, and make you happy in this world and the next.'

Thank God, during the whole winter and summer, relief-work on a magnificent scale has been done by the International Relief Committee. The committee in Constantinople, under the direction of the English Ambassador, has spent the money which has flowed in freely from Britain and the United States, and in less degree from other countries. Considerable sums have also been placed at the disposal of the Armenian Patriarch for the organisation of comprehensive relief-work. The distribution is made by means of twenty central stations, managed by the American missions in conjunction with the Armenian bishops. These have constituted minor stations which spread like a network over the district. Everywhere lists of the most needy are brought forward, and are carefully examined by committees of the Protestants and Gregorians.

Every person who, they hope, can escape without dying of hunger is struck off the list. The money is given out with the greatest economy, small sums being given to individuals, just large enough to keep them alive. So far, about 300,000 people have received help and been secured from starvation. But the gifts from England and America have dropped off during the summer

in an alarming manner. We owe this to the consequences of a European policy which will not allow that famine exists in Armenia. In view of the pressure of famine scarcely anything can be spared from the distribution for clothing and bedding, and nothing at all for the rebuilding of the hundreds and thousands of shattered houses; but although the relief committee look forward to the coming winter with the greatest anxiety, and stand confronting the stupendous need resourceless and almost despairing, the sacrifices made hitherto so willingly in Christian England and America are now ceasing.

The time has come for Protestant Germany to do its duty, and leap into the gap. Justice compels us to say that the Catholic churches and the Catholic people in France, Italy, Austria, and Germany—thanks to the attitude of the Catholic press—have not failed to send aid to the Catholic Armenians, or the sorely-injured Catholic missions. The Pope has spent 50,000 lire; and in France, Felix Charmétant, Director-General of the *Œuvre d'Orient*, in March last, made an appeal to the French Catholics by the publication of his *Armenian Martyrology*. In Austria, the Armenian Mechitarist Brothers, under the auspices of the Emperor Francis Joseph, also made an appeal. Moreover Protestant churches in other lands, such as Holland and Switzerland, have bestirred themselves. French Switzerland was set in motion by Professor Godet of Neuchâtel, and German Switzerland by a committee held at Berne. Isolated

churches, as those of Frankfort and Basle, have reminded their congregations from the pulpit of their duty as Christians. It is painful that such questions must be put into words, but we ask—‘What have the great Protestant National Churches of Germany done?’ and ‘What has the National Church of Prussia done?’ As a consequence of the attitude of the whole German press, is it perhaps unknown to them that there is such a land as Armenia? Do they not know that in these times there is now proceeding one of the greatest persecutions of the Christians that has been known in any century? Or have no Christian periodicals reached them that can tell them something of these matters? And if such is the case, what of the men who stand at the head of the Protestant churches of Germany? How have they the heart quietly to watch the frightful suffering of Christianity in the East, without one word of pity passing their lips? Have they been gagged by the arguments of imperial policy? Do they know nothing of the loftier policy of the Kingdom of God, which stands in direct opposition to the selfish interests of the kingdoms of this world? Doubtless the church authorities expect that every minister should be able to speak with deep feeling and impressive words of the persecutions of the Christians in early times. Shall the only text from which it is still incumbent on them to preach be this: ‘If we had lived in the times of our fathers we should not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets’? Must they also

build the tombs of the prophets, and adorn the graves of the righteous, and ask no questions about what is happening in our own days? We believe that ignorance has been their excuse in the past, and that the Protestant church at last, late as it is, will arise to do its part in bringing succour to a Christian people fallen among thieves in eastern lands.

#### 10. THE PROBABLE OUTCOME.

We next ask, *What is the outcome?* The desolation of eight great provinces, and massacre and plunder on such a scale that 100,000 human lives have been sacrificed, cannot be without immediate consequences.

The first result follows as a matter of course: *the complete agricultural ruin of the whole of the eastern part of Asia Minor and of the north of Mesopotamia*, while naturally Western Asia Minor and Syria suffer also.

Several centuries at least must elapse before this wide extent of country, forming a substantial part of the Turkish Empire, can recover from this state of ruin. In the towns of all the provinces affected some nine-tenths of the bazaars are closed. Trade, both import and export, is entirely paralysed, for on account of the Turk's deficient knowledge of foreign languages, trade was almost entirely in the hands of the Christians. The cultivation of the land was wholly inadequate, on account of the general feeling of insecurity and the change of landed proprietors caused by

the constant attempts of the Turks to appropriate the property of the Christians. For the most part even the autumn crops have not been gathered, but have either been left to spoil in the fields, or have been collected by the Kurds. Very little of the spring seed has been sown, for no one has dared to leave the villages and the towns.

The value of the devastated and pillaged property can only be reckoned by millions.

At the same time this stolen property brings no blessing to the Turks and Kurds. Who is to see after the feeding of the great flocks of sheep and goats which form the most valuable possession of the country proprietors? This work was almost entirely in the hands of the Armenian peasants, and in the winter the Turkish Agas intrusted them also with the care of their immense herds, at the same time paying them nothing for their trouble and expense when they fetched the cattle away in the spring. No wonder that the severe winter has decimated the flocks. Many a Kurd or Turk, who had perhaps pasture enough for his two thousand sheep, thought himself lucky to have increased his stock to eight or ten thousand by spoiling the Christians. He might have been able to manage his two thousand, but the larger number has entirely crippled his resources. In the towns the shops and warehouses of the Turks are crammed with Armenian goods, but who will pay full price for stolen property? A fifth or tenth part of the value may be offered, and the Turk is glad to get rid of

goods still stained with the blood of massacres. But who is there to buy? Those who have money prefer to hide it, the Christian from the greed of the Turk, the Turk from the lynx-eyed tax-collector. The losses sustained by the European firms trading with the interior of Armenia must be reckoned by millions, and the arrears of the last year must simply be lost, for the Christians have nothing left, and the general distress is a good pretext for the Turks to pay nothing. I am informed on all sides that the losses of the German firms in the north of Asia Minor and in Syria have been enormous; a great part of the import trade of these parts having been in their hands. Yet the consuls shrug their shoulders if complaints are brought before them. Who could lodge complaints now at the Porte? For years also the German Anatolian railway will suffer most severely from the agricultural ruin of Asia Minor.

No wonder that the Porte is now making desperate efforts to raise new loans. Notwithstanding the most rigorous system of extortion on the part of the finance department, the power of the country to pay taxes is completely exhausted. Who would be such a fool as to help the Sublime Porte out of money difficulties, whilst civil war is raging in all parts of the kingdom? *The agricultural bankruptcy is alone sufficient to make the collapse of Turkey inevitable.*

But many other factors are working to the same end. *It is not only the Christian population but the Turkish also that is suffering from the*

*general agricultural depression.* Intelligent Turks, who are not carried away by fanaticism or greed, confess this quite openly, and in view of the coming collapse, they severely blame the acts of their own government. The Turkish and Christian populations were so closely connected in their agricultural relations, that the former cannot help feeling most acutely the injuries done to the Christians. The stagnation of trade touches the better classes, but the ruin of Christian property reacts also on all the lower classes in Turkey. Everywhere the villagers complain that the goods they used to buy at a cheap rate from the travelling Armenian merchants, are now most difficult to get, and cost them from four to five times as much as formerly. It is a natural consequence of agricultural failure and general ruin that the Young Turkish party, which till now has been chiefly composed of Europeanised members of the newer Turkish population, should now be recruited from the older Turkish elements of society. The Young Turkish party is in no way revolutionary in the ordinary sense, as has been officially represented. In a constitutional state it would form a wholesome party of reform, and, being composed of the best elements of the modern Turkish educated class, would exert a powerful influence on the amelioration of political conditions. Yet no hopes can be set upon the Young Turkish party, for its ideals are so entirely European, that any attempt to carry them out would destroy the whole historical system of Turkish administration, and must succumb at

once to Mohammedan fanaticism. It is therefore but a new element of disunion. The Porte knows the danger that threatens her from this side, in fact the fears of the Sultan on this account have led him lately to appoint two of his favourite Hamidieh (irregular Kurdish) regiments from wild Kurdistan for his own personal protection. He has done this notwithstanding the fact that his palace is already surrounded by gigantic barracks, and presents rather the appearance of a barrack-yard than of a royal residence. The disembarkation of these troops amongst the European population of Constantinople caused no small uneasiness, and though it was officially announced that the sheikhs of these regiments were to be hostages for the good conduct of the Kurds in the interior of Asia Minor, this was but one of the famous jests with which the Sublime Porte now and then mocks European diplomacy. On the contrary the Kurds are quite aware how well inclined towards them is the heart of the ruler of the faithful, and they regard this distinction conferred on their comrades as a reward for their services of the last few months, and as an encouragement to continue their infamous acts.

*The Kurds will take good care that Armenia is not left in peace.* Now that there is nothing more to be got out of the Christians, it will be the turn of the Turks. One of Æsop's fables is here much to the point: 'Once upon a time a shepherd found a wolf's cub; he brought it up and after a while taught it to steal lambs from the neighbouring flocks. The wolf proved an apt scholar,

but said to the shepherd: Since you have taught me to steal, you must keep a sharp look-out lest anything should be lost from your own flock.' Let the Turkish government keep an eye upon the Kurds whom they have instigated to plunder the Christians.

*The worst result, however, of the destructive policy of the Porte is the rekindled fanaticism of the Mohammedans,* who have learnt from the events of the last few months that they can steep themselves in Christian blood, and that Christian Europe takes about as much notice of a persecution of Christians in the East, as of a change of the moon. The Turk knows now that the time of the Crusades belongs to past ages, and that the hearts of diplomatists are no longer stirred by romantic sentiments. 'We Mohammedans,' said a Mussulman, 'are sand in the eyes of the world; the Sultan is ordering all the Armenians to be massacred, and Europe does not dare to raise a finger.' It is impossible for any one to have travelled of late in the East, and to have gained an insight into the disposition of the Mohammedan population, without being convinced that their arrogance now knows no bounds, and that they hope shortly to rid themselves of all Christians living under Mohammedan rule. 'When will the Sultan put the English out of Egypt?' is a question often heard from Mohammedan lips. Scornful jests, such as that the English fleet has fled from the Mediterranean, or that the Russians have embraced Mohammedanism, show the feeling of the people, though they are but the natural



outcome of the sense of security into which the Turks have lulled themselves.

*But all this gives more serious significance to the feeling of insecurity which has taken possession of the whole Christian population and of the Christian missions of all denominations in the Turkish Empire.* The favourite Mohammedan invectives against 'Christian dogs,' which had fallen into disuse, are once more heard in the streets. Instances of attacks upon the Christians and of plots to murder them are again the order of the day, and the attacks and annoyances with which under the fanatical government of the present Sultan the Christian missions have been for some years molested, become yet more emphasised. It is not surprising that the Christian population looks upon the present condition of things with the gravest apprehension for the future. Proof has indeed been given that, in the course of a few weeks, a systematic massacre of the Christians in the large provinces can be set going without the intervention of the great Powers, who can neither prevent it, nor even put any restraint upon it. Indeed, thanks to the abuse of public opinion through the Turkish censorship of the press, it may be months before the real facts are known. Who can guarantee that after the experiment of the Christian massacres in the east of Asia Minor, the same should not follow in the west, in Syria and Palestine? The occasion may not arise to-day nor to-morrow, but the behaviour of the Powers towards Armenia and Crete warrants the belief that when the time has come, the in-

tervention of the Powers will come too late. The Mohammedan may well say, 'We know that the Europeans want our country; they will get it, but we will take good care that when they do, not a Christian shall be found in the land.'

The problem is simple in those Turkish territories like Macedonia and Crete where the Christians are in a large majority. But are not the revolutionary tendencies of the Christian population in these countries, that have already waited for years for the reforms guaranteed by the Powers, closely bound up with the solution of the Armenian question? After all that has happened and is happening, will the Powers be able to keep up their ostrich-like policy, and can the dog-in-the-manger policy of England, in particular, be maintained? Innocent people are of opinion that as soon as sagacious pashas at the Golden Horn, who appear quite as anxious for the maintenance of the peace of the world as European diplomatists, have succeeded in establishing the Christian Powers as constabulary for the maintenance of order in Crete, the Oriental question, paper treaties and all, will become a thing of the past. The semi-official press, moreover, takes care that this simplicity with regard to Eastern affairs shall not become extinct.

One thing has been forgotten—that though one-eighth part of the Christian population in Armenia has been sacrificed in these massacres, there still remains an Armenian population of 700,000 souls. What is to become of these people? Perhaps European diplomacy views with relief the fact

that starvation is making havoc among 500,000 of these, for thereby (in comparison with the state of affairs before the massacres) the danger of an insurrection is reduced and there is less fear that the peace of Europe will be threatened. But why should this plundered and beggared people, to whom Europe can throw a handful of coppers, be incapable of desperate acts since they are in any case doomed to die? The will to avenge themselves with a last effort on their savage murderers will probably not be lacking.

Before European policy created an Armenian question there was no such thing in Armenia itself, and even in the last few years up to the outbreak of the massacres the great mass of the people, even if they had heard of the promised reforms, knew nothing of any endeavour to shake off the Turkish yoke. But the Turkish government has in its recent measures taken care that every one in Armenia, even in the remotest village, shall know what the Armenian question is. They have indeed taught the people an object-lesson, that, as regards Turkey and Europe, the Armenian question means nothing else than the extermination of the Armenian people. We ask again: 'Does a right of self-defence exist?' If so, will the Armenians be regarded as a reprobate band of brigands if they should contemplate a national rising? But, Heaven be thanked, say the diplomatists, we have just heard that the Armenians are in no condition to take such action, for fortunately they lack the two necessities, food and arms. But how if some power

who possesses both money and weapons should think of giving the Armenians what they want? The third thing necessary, desperate courage, will not be wanting. For whether they die with their last crust of bread in their hands, or armed for defensive fight, it will be a matter of indifference to them.

It appears urgently necessary that Europe should gravely consider the probability of an early renewal of the Armenian disturbances. When this occurs it will indeed probably be a question of an Armenian revolution, as Turkey would have had us believe it was from the first. For 'some Power with money and arms' will not keep us waiting much longer; if the latest reports are to be believed it is already on the spot. We are far from blaming Russia if she determines to take in hand the protection of the Armenian Christians, from which she had been debarred at the Berlin Congress by England, who herself however has not done any more than the other guaranteeing Powers. Russia played a cruel game when she retaliated on English policy, and made her feel her helplessness; cruel, in that not England but Armenia had to pay the price of the diplomatic victory.

She had sufficient reason to adopt a waiting policy, until she had a free hand in Armenia as far as English interference was concerned. She went so far in her diplomatic tranquillity that, at times, she appeared to exchange the part of the hereditary enemy of Turkey for that of the Sultan's family friend. But the *entente cordiale*



has already come to an end, indeed there has been enough of the cruel game. It will be well to change the question: 'What will the end be?' into 'What do the Powers intend to do?' We consider that Christian Europe has an indefeasible right to receive an answer to this question. The honour of Christendom is involved in the matter.

*First.*—Ought the Porte to continue to triumph in having duped six great Powers in the matter of the Armenian question? Then at least there should be no difference of opinion in the cabinets of Europe, for it should be understood that every exchange of diplomatic writing on the question of Armenian reform is an unworthy farce now that the measures of the Porte have made the accomplishment of such reform practically impossible. Or does any one still believe that the Porte means to carry out in Armenia what she has agreed to do on paper? How is she to do so? Are those officials, with whose co-operation the best of the Armenians were killed, to invite the surviving beggars to take their place beside them in the administrative councils of the vilayets, and in the popular assemblies? Will the presidents of the courts of justice, who summarily threw thousands of Armenians into prison and condemned them to death, give a place in the judges' bench, and a voice in the court, to the 'Armenian robbers' as the Porte chooses to call them? Will the zaptiehs who were appointed to clear out the peaceable population of Armenian villages as if they were bands of thieves, and to annex their property as stolen

goods, welcome these Armenians as comrades and teach them the duty of defence? Can these Kurdish wolves who lately wore the uniform of the Hamidieh troops be clothed in sheepskin, and be taught to dwell in one fold with Armenian lambs? It would be better, as long at least as Turkish pashas rule in the Sultan's seraglios and in the provinces, to wait for the time when the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and the cow and the bear feed together. No, as long as the present *régime* exists, it is all over with Armenian reforms, and once again comes the question: 'Shall the Porte continue to triumph in having duped six great Powers at once?'

*Secondly.*—How do the Powers intend to restore to the victims of their policy not only their goods and chattels, but also secure them an existence worthy of human beings? They could indeed do so, as was done last year after the massacre of Sassoun, by appointing commissions, making protocols, and writing diplomatic notes; but, if so, it will certainly be necessary for the ambassadors and foreign officials to have a new set of pigeon-holes. One commission will not suffice, as after the massacre at Sassoun; at least two hundred will be required. Instead of 108 protocols, as in the preceding case, 21,600 will be necessary, and the diplomatic correspondence, which in the English Blue-book on Sassoun produced 267 despatches for one great Power alone, will swell to 340,000 for six great Powers, without counting all the other clerical work necessary. Why should not the conscientious thoroughness which

was considered necessary for the inquiry into one massacre be brought to bear upon hundreds of massacres? Or do the Powers think that after they have strained out a gnat in the case of Sassoun, they can swallow a caravan of camels in the shape of the other massacres? Again I ask, what do the Powers intend to do for the victims of their policy?

*Thirdly.*—What is to become of the six hundred to a thousand villages that have been forcibly converted to Islam? What of the hundreds of Christian churches that now serve as mosques? Are the Powers who once admitted the Porte into the European Concert now willing to recognise Islam as a new element in the Christian communion? In that case there need be no talk of enforced apostasy, and the matter might be allowed to rest as it is. But it may be assumed that the Christian church would protest against this. What then? Can any one really think that the Mohammedan population of Armenia would obey orders proclaimed by the diplomatists, and again permit the public practice of the Christian cult to their new brothers in the faith? In that case the diplomatists had better go to school under a Mullah, and hear a lecture on the precepts of the Koran. To compel the return of the compulsory converts to the Christian faith, and the surrender of the churches converted to mosques to the Christian cult, would be the quickest way to hand over to death fresh hundreds of thousands, should the attempt be made without guarantee of European supervision.

Again, what do the Powers intend to do to save the honour of Christendom from the triumph of Islam? It is not our business to give an answer to this question, but we call upon the heart and conscience of Christian emperors and kings to 'bear not the sword of God in vain.' We must remind them that they are the representatives of divine justice upon earth, and are accountable for keeping in view the honour of God and the kingdom of Christ in the exercise of their difficult office. We know that One, higher than all the great Christian powers, lives and rules the destiny of the world, but it has pleased Him to choose human instruments to fulfil His will upon earth. May they not prove incompetent!

## II. MASSACRES

### I. MASSACRES IN OURFA

*(October 28th and 29th, and December 28th and 29th)*

*Extract from Blue-Book No. 5, Turkey*

VICE-CONSUL FITZMAURICE TO SIR P. CURRIE

*Ourfa, March 16, 1896.*

SIR,—In conformity with your Excellency's telegraphic instructions of the 7th March, I arrived here on the 10th March.

The gloom of the sad events which had occurred here during the last two months of 1895 still hung over the town, and the Armenian quarter especially, in spite of attempts during the preceding ten weeks to remove the traces of the final disaster, still wore the aspect of a town which had been ruined and laid waste by some scourge more terrible than any war or siege. The shops, with their windows and doors broken in, lay empty and deserted, practically no grown males were visible, and only a few ill-clad and ill-fed children and women, with a scared look on their faces, were to be seen moving about apparently in search of the bare necessities of existence in the shape of dry bread and scanty bedding.

Rumours of further massacres on the approaching festival of Bairam were rife, and the Mussulman population, emboldened by the impunity with which they had carried out the recent massacres, were openly threatening to 'wipe out' the remaining Armenian Christians during the Bairam holidays.

The population of Ourfa, before the 28th December 1895, was close on 65,000, of whom about 20,000 were Armenians, 3,000 or 4,000 Jacobites, Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics, Greek Catholics, Maronites, and Jews, and the remaining 40,000 odd Turkish, Kurdish, and Arab Mussulmans.

There have been, as your Excellency is aware, two massacres in Ourfa, the first on the 28th and 29th October 1895, and the second or big massacre on the 28th and 29th December of the same year.

The causes leading up to these massacres were both remote and near.

The attitude of the Turkish government on the Armenian question since the last Russo-Turkish war has been one calculated to end in some such deplorable catastrophe as that which has recently befallen the Armenian people and the Sultan's government. Some twelve or fifteen years ago the persistent neglect of the latter to carry out the reforms it had by Treaty promised to introduce into its Armenian provinces, drove a certain number of Armenians in despair to have recourse to revolutionary methods. The Ottoman officials, instead of distinguishing between the

guilty and innocent, chose, some from ignorance, many from motives of personal pecuniary gain, to regard all Armenians as traitors, scheming to throw off the Ottoman yoke. As usually happens in Oriental countries, when the central government had adopted the same view, the real sedition of certain Armenians was confounded and lost in the mass of trumped-up charges, would-be seditious documents and imaginary reports and lists of revolutionary committees, which poured in from all sides as soon as the demand of the central government for such a supply was felt. Turkish officials and leading Moslems criminally communicated these notions to the ignorant and indiscriminating masses of the Mussulman population, who are guided in their general action by the prescriptions of the Sheri law. That law prescribes that if the 'rayah' Christian attempt, by having recourse (*dekhalet*) to foreign Powers, to overstep the limits of privileges (*berat*) allowed to them by their Mussulman masters, and free themselves from their bondage, their lives and property are to be forfeited, and are at the mercy of the Mussulmans. To the Turkish mind, the Armenians had tried to overstep those limits by appealing to foreign Powers. They therefore considered it their religious duty, and a righteous thing, to destroy the lives and seize the property of the Armenians.

The foregoing, strange as it may seem, was the actual frame and working of the Mussulman mind and conscience, when the Armenian demonstration occurred at Constantinople in September last.

I have made careful inquiries as to the extent of Armenian revolutionary propaganda at Ourfa, and have arrived at the conviction that, though there existed a large amount of, to my mind, well-grounded discontent among the Armenians arising from the fact that for some years past they have, in common with their brethren elsewhere in Anatolia, been treated practically as outlaws, the amount of actual disloyalty among them was very restricted.

Armenian secret societies in Europe have, as is well known, been endeavouring to introduce explosives, rifles, and revolutionary literature into the Aleppo region, but their success at Ourfa has been exceedingly limited. They seem to have smuggled in some revolutionary pamphlets, but no rifles or explosives.

Ourfa, moreover, does not come under even the geographical designation of Armenia, being included rather in the limits of Mesopotamia or 'Arabistan' (Arabia).

The foregoing was the state of things at Ourfa when, immediately after the Armenian demonstration in Constantinople, it appears orders were received here from the central government to the effect that should the Armenians attempt any disturbance, it was to be at once sternly quelled, and in the event of their offering resistance, they were to receive a terrible lesson (*terbiyyé shedidé*). The central government must have known, or ought to have known, the disastrous consequences which, in view of Mussulman feeling against the Armenians, such instructions were

certain to have in the provinces, and it incurred a very grave responsibility in sending them.

The Mussulmans here and elsewhere interpreted them as the Sovereign's wish that they should put into execution the prescriptions of the 'Sheri,' and proceed to take the lives and property of the rebellious Armenian 'rayahs.' The demonstration at Constantinople was represented by the officials as an attempt by the Armenians to storm the Sublime Porte; rumours reached here of massacres of Armenians by their co-religionists in other towns in Anatolia; they were told that the Armenians were attacking mosques and using dynamite, while word came from their Mussulman brethren in towns where massacres had occurred inciting them to do their duty by Islam. The government, too, began to serve out arms and cartridges to the zaptiehs and other guards, and had the Armenian quarter patrolled.

I should add that the telegraphic news of acceptance of the reforms was interpreted to the Mussulmans as the granting of autonomy to the Armenians, an interpretation which must have come from the government officials, and which had a disastrous effect on Moslem feeling towards Armenians.

While this Moslem feeling at Ourfa was thus excited, an event occurred which precipitated matters. I shall go into it somewhat in detail, as being the much disputed point of departure of the most extensive of recent Armenian massacres.

A Mussulman had purchased from an Armenian money-changer called Boghos a number of 'ghazis,' *i.e.* old gold coins worn as ornaments by native women, and as he was somewhat tardy in paying for them, the Armenian Boghos, on Saturday, the 26th October 1895, went to the Mussulman's house to demand payment. The latter, apparently incensed at the Armenian coming to his private house to press for the money, abused the money-changer roundly and sent him away, saying he would see him on the morrow.

The following day, Sunday, the 27th October, the Mussulman, true to his word, went with some comrades to Boghos's house, and, being told the latter was out, proceeded to search for him in the streets. He found him near the Armenian Cathedral, in the Armenian quarter, and at once stabbed him to death. It being Sunday large numbers of Armenians were in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral. They at once seized the Mussulman, and handed him over to the zaptiehs of a neighbouring guard-house.

The Turkish version of what followed is that the Armenians attacked the guard-house and mortally wounded the Mussulman, while the Armenians assert that, seeing that the zaptiehs were going to allow the Mussulman murderer to escape, they invaded the guard-house, insisting that the zaptiehs should either hand over the murderer to them to be conveyed to the government-house, or that they (the Armenians) should accompany the zaptiehs and their prisoner to the government. On the zaptiehs naturally refusing

and trying to turn the Armenians out, a scuffle ensued, in which the prisoner was seriously wounded. He died on the way while the zaptiehs were conveying him to the government-house. There an Armenian dispensary doctor, named Melkon, called in by the Major of Gendarmes to give a medical report, declared the wounds of which the man died were inflicted by zaptiehs bayonets. It is asserted that the major threatened the Armenian doctor Melkon with death if he should declare the wounds to be bayonet wounds. Melkon sought refuge in a Mussulman house, but was sought out on the following day by the major and a couple of men. He was dragged forth, shot by the major, and despatched by the latter's followers. His body was then dragged through the streets with every species of indignity, torn to pieces, and flung into a fosse.

The excitement among the Mussulmans and the uneasiness among the Armenians on Sunday night, October the 27th, the night following the death of the Mussulman, was very great, and some Armenians were about in their quarter on the same night watching in anticipation of an attack. They encountered a Turkish patrol and shots were fired. The Armenian account, is that on the Turkish patrol hailing the Armenians, the latter fled and were fired upon by the zaptiehs, while the Turkish version is that a band of Armenians, armed with Martinis, assaulted the patrol.

As the *mot d'ordre* of the Turkish authorities after the Constantinople demonstration became 'attack of Armenians,' and their stereotyped

official version of the origin of most massacres was the supposed attack of Armenians on mosques during the Friday prayer, the above official account of the patrol incident must be received with great reserve, if not incredulity. It is, moreover, curious that the patrol said to have been attacked by armed Armenians was in no way hurt or injured while they on their side did not succeed in capturing any of their Armenian assailants.

I should mention another Armenian version that the alleged attack was made by a band of Turks disguised as Armenians, with the object of giving a pretext for massacre.

The few Armenians who ventured down to the bazaar on the following Monday morning, 28th October, came rushing back, most of them wounded and streaming with blood. They were followed by an armed Mussulman mob, who attacked the Armenian quarter, with cries of Death to the infidels!

The Armenians, the greater portion of whom had remained at home, seeing that the Mussulmans were bent on a general massacre, began a determined resistance at the principal entrances to their quarter, and finally obliged the mob to retire with a loss of four or five Mussulman lives, they themselves losing some twenty-seven killed.

The mob, baffled for the moment in this direction, turned their attention to plunder. They completely looted and wrecked some seven hundred Armenian shops and one hundred and ninety Armenian houses.

The rapidity with which the above incidents

succeeded one another seems to point to some preconcerted plan, and it is asserted that a certain Mussulman notable of Ourfa, who has since been summoned to Aleppo, was the prime mover in the matter, and that the man mentioned above, who was a poor man and not likely to be the purchaser of a large number of Ghazi gold coins, was acting on behalf of the notable, with the object of driving the Armenians into some overt act of violence against a Mussulman, in keeping with the malicious reports spread among the Mussulman population of Armenian outrages on Turkish women throughout Anatolia, and it seems inconceivable that a general attack and massacre of Armenians could have been planned during the one Sunday night of 27th October.

After the Mussulman repulse of Monday, all Armenians found outside the Armenian quarter, within or without the city, were attacked and the males slain. Their quarter was besieged and no egress allowed. Their water-supply was cut off and no food permitted to enter. This state of siege lasted practically for two months until the 28th December, the date of the final and great massacre.

The Armenian Bishop wished to telegraph the situation to His Majesty the Sultan, but the authorities refused to allow his telegram to be sent. Thereupon in despair at the hopeless situation of his flock, he retired to his monastery outside the town, where he remained a prisoner till after the second massacre; no Armenian, not even his secretary, being allowed to converse with

him, except in Turkish, and that in the presence of guards.

On the night of Monday, the Armenians—in view of the desperate nature of their position, the post and telegraph being closed to them—despatched a messenger to Aintab to make known their condition and to get aid. That messenger was subsequently arrested, and is now in the Ourfa prison under a heavy sentence for his 'seditious' conduct in so doing. Another messenger, despatched on the following Wednesday night, met with the same fate.

During Tuesday, the 29th October, the mob continued their plundering on the outskirts of the Armenian quarter, and in this they were assisted by the zaptiehs, who fired on and over the Armenian quarter, it being afterwards represented to the Mussulmans that the Armenians were firing on the Turks.

On Wednesday, the 30th October, the Mutesarif Hassan Pasha arrived from Surrouj, where he had been absent some ten days; over a thousand Mussulmans, most of whom had been engaged in the attack and plundering of the preceding days, were enrolled as reserves, and the government called on the Armenians to deliver up their arms, especially the 1800 Martinis they were supposed to have received from abroad, promising to subsequently disarm the Mussulmans. The Armenians replied that they had no such Martinis, that, as the Mussulmans had been the attacking party, and had declared that the Sultan's government had ordered the extermination of all



Armenians, they had no longer any confidence in their Mussulman fellow-citizens, and, consequently, they could give up such arms as they possessed only after the Mussulmans had been disarmed. The government insisted, however, that the Armenians should first disarm, and that they could hope for no protection until they had delivered up their Martinis.

The newly-enrolled reserves were scattered about in the Armenian quarter, nominally for their protection; but they proceeded to tell the Armenians that their extermination had been decided upon by government. They extorted large sums of money and valuables from them on the promise of protection, and then informed them that only those who turned Moslem would be saved, all such new converts to run up a white flag on their roofs. The Armenians in utter despair turned Moslem *en masse*; and by Thursday night, the white flags on the Christian quarter were innumerable. The government, however, refused to recognise them officially, but continued its demand for arms.

About this time a paper to the effect that the Armenians had attacked a guard-house, fired upon and killed Mussulmans and zaptiehs, and were resisting the government forces with modern weapons, was sent round for signature to the heads of the different communities, and even some foreigners. This document was presumably forwarded to headquarters.

On the 12th November, fifteen prominent Armenians were summoned to the government-

house. There they were asked the meaning of their rebellious attitude, they were ordered to at once hand over the 1800 Martinis, 100 revolvers, and ten men chosen from a list of one hundred and twenty of those who were alleged to have attacked the guard-house on Sunday, the 27th October.

The Armenians at once handed over the ten men required, and while protesting that they had no Martinis, offered and at once proceeded to collect and deliver up any other arms they possessed.

The negotiations for the surrender of their arms lasted for some weeks, the government, while accepting the ordinary arms handed over by the Armenians, still relentlessly demanding the Martinis, and even hinting to the Armenians that if they had none they had money to purchase them. The latter actually bought revolvers and other arms from friendly Turks and other Christians to deliver up to government.

By the 30th November they had handed over two hundred and forty pieces of arms, mostly old guns, pistols, daggers, etc., and some fifteen revolvers. On the same day, I may mention, Miss Shattuck, the American lady missionary, asked for permission and an escort to go to Aintab, a permission which was granted only on the 28th December, one hour before the final and general massacre.

On the 1st December the mob again attacked and fired into the Armenian quarter. They were, however, held in check by the government.



By the 3rd December six hundred arms of all sorts had been given up, but the Mutessarif and commander still renewed their demands.

The Armenians were now experiencing all the distress of a regular siege. Though they had bribed their guards to get in some food, on the pretext that it was intended for the soldiers, and had reopened old wells, which had for many years been closed up, their provisions and water-supply were giving out, and beasts of burden worth several pounds were disposed of for as many shillings.

At this juncture they resolved to make a desperate attempt to communicate with Aleppo. Having written an account of their situation on a piece of cloth they sewed it into the lining of one of the long garments worn in the country, put it on a poor Armenian peasant not likely to attract the attention or cupidity of the surrounding Kurds, and despatched him at night by an unfrequented road to Aleppo with promises of lavish rewards in case of success. This messenger, however, was waylaid and stripped of the very garment bearing the message.

On the 13th December, on the pretext that tranquillity was completely restored, the commander of the troops ordered that the few Armenians, whose business places, bakeries, etc., were still workable, should come down and resume their work. On their doing so they were attacked and wounded, and fled back to their quarter. The commander forced them to descend again, and with cavalry mounted guard over the

few Armenians, who tried to do business under such novel and trying conditions. The government then forced some twenty-five prominent Armenians to sign a telegram to Constantinople to the effect that, though the peace had been disturbed by the unruly conduct of some Armenians, owing to the efforts of the local authorities complete tranquillity had been restored.

During the following week, however, though the authorities assured the Armenians they had nothing to fear, and that government was now going to disarm the Mussulmans, the Armenians having by this time given up, including revolvers and one Martini, 1200 arms of all kinds, of which a large number had been purchased to meet the demands of the authorities, there were whisperings of a great impending disaster, friendly Turks sent word to the Armenians to be on their guard, and warning was given to the non-Armenian Christians to wear a black turban.

Finally on Saturday, the 28th December, a captain of gendarmes went to Miss Shattuck, informing her that she might start for Aintab as everything was quiet. He then proceeded to the Armenian Cathedral, where the Armenian National Assembly, which had just sent a communication to the Mutessarif detailing their causes of apprehension and soliciting protection, was still sitting. The captain gave them, on the part of the government, every assurance that no disturbance would occur. He had, however, scarcely left the building, when the storm burst and the general massacre of the 28th and 29th December began.

On the morning of Saturday the 28th December the commander of the troops sent word to the non-Armenian Christians to assemble in their churches and not stir out, but under no consideration to shelter or give asylum to a single Armenian.

The military with some mounted police were drawn up on the brow of the hill upon the slope of which the Armenian quarter is built, and were massed at the principal exits from that quarter. Behind them was an armed Mussulman mob, while the minarets were crowded with Moslems evidently in expectation of some stirring event. The Turkish women, too, crowded on to the roofs and the slopes of the fortress which overlooks the Armenian quarter. Between 10 A.M. and 11 A.M. crowds of armed Mussulmans flocked round in the same direction cheered on by their women who kept up the well-known 'zilghit,' or peculiar throat noise, used on such occasions by Oriental women to encourage their braves. Towards noon a 'muezzin' gave out the mid-day prayer from one minaret, all the other minarets remaining silent, a glittering glass ornament resembling a crescent was seen shining from the top of the fortress overlooking one end of the Armenian quarter, while a mullah waved a green banner from a tall minaret overhanging the other end.

A few shots were fired and a trumpet sounded the attack from among the soldiers, who were seen to open their ranks and allow the mob behind them to come forward. Soldiers and mob then rushed on the Armenian quarter and

began a general massacre of the males over a certain age.

The reserve troops, who knew the Armenian quarter well from their having been on guard there during the two preceding months, served both as guides and advance guard, being accompanied by a body of wood-cutters, axe in hand, from the neighbouring mountains. The latter broke in the doors, whereupon the soldiers rushed in emptying their Martinis on the Armenian men, from whom they had anticipated a certain resistance. They had, however, given up all their arms, and, in abject terror at their dreadful situation, pleaded for mercy for the sake of their women and children and the Prophet Jesus. With insulting language they were dragged out one by one from their hiding-places and brutally butchered. In many instances from fifteen to twenty men had collected in the larger houses as affording some chance of safety. They were hurled out one after another to the executioners, who speedily despatched them. In the house next to that of the Protestant pastor (he, too, was slain leaving six orphans), where I put up during my stay here, forty men were thus put to death. A certain sheikh ordered his followers to bring as many stalwart young Armenians as they could find. They were, to the number of about 100, thrown on their backs, and held down by their hands and feet, while the sheikh, with a combination of fanaticism and cruelty, proceeded, while reciting verses of the Koran, to cut their throats after the Mecca rite of sacrificing sheep.

Many Armenian men again secreted themselves at the bottom of wells in the hope of escaping from their would-be destroyers; but the latter hurled down jars and stones, and then fired down revolver shots, or flung down matting saturated with petroleum, which they then set on fire.

In several cases women and girls were mercilessly cut down while trying to shield their male relatives.

When all the men had been killed in a house, the mob proceeded to plunder in the most minute way, pouring kerosene on and burning corn, barley, woodwork, and whatever they could not carry away, and leaving only bare walls and floors.

While this house-to-house carnage was going on, a constant firing from the brow of the hill down over the quarter was kept up on Armenians who tried to escape by the roofs.

Towards sunset, as at noon, the trumpet was again sounded, and the mob at once withdrew, with the exception of a few stragglers who remained to loot.

On the following day (Sunday, 29th December) the trumpet was sounded at early dawn, and the massacre was resumed. Large numbers, who on Saturday had not taken part in the attack fearing Armenian resistance, joined the mob on Sunday.

The savage butchery of the previous day was continued till noon, when took place the burning of the Ourfa Armenian Cathedral, an act which for fiendish barbarity has been unsurpassed by any of the horrors of recent massacres of

Armenians and for which the annals of history can furnish few, if any, parallels.

On Saturday night crowds of Armenian men, women, and children took refuge in their fine cathedral, capable of holding some 8000 persons, and the priest administered the sacrament, the last sacrament as it proved to be, to 1800 souls, recording the figure on one of the pillars of the church. These remained in the cathedral overnight and were joined on Sunday by several hundreds more who sought the protection of a building which they considered safe from the mob-violence of the Mussulman even in his fanaticism. It is computed that at least 3000 individuals were congregated in the edifice, when the mob attacked it.

They at first fired in through the windows, then smashed in the iron door, and proceeded to massacre all those, mostly men, who were on the ground floor.

Having thus disposed of the men, and having removed some of the younger women, they rifled the church treasure, shrines, and ornaments to the extent of some £T.4000, destroying the pictures and relics, mockingly calling on Christ now to prove Himself a greater prophet than Mohammed.

A huge, partly stone, partly wooden, gallery running round the upper portion of the cathedral was packed with a shrieking and terrified mass of women, children, and some men.

Some of the mob, jumping on the raised altar platform, began picking off the latter with revolver

shots, but as this process seemed too tedious, they bethought themselves of the more expeditious method employed against those who had hidden in the wells. Having collected a quantity of bedding and the church matting they poured some thirty cans of kerosene on it, as also on the dead bodies lying about, and then set fire to the whole. The gallery beams and wooden framework soon caught fire, whereupon, blocking up the staircases leading to the gallery with similar inflammable materials, they left the mass of struggling human beings to become the prey of the flames.

During several hours the sickening odour of roasting flesh pervaded the town, and even to-day, two months and a half after the massacre, the smell of putrescent and charred remains in the church is unbearable.

At 3.30 P.M., at the Moslem afternoon prayer (*inkindi namaz*), the trumpet again sounded and the mob drew off from the Armenian quarter. Shortly afterwards the Mufti, and other notables preceded by music, among which were brass military instruments, went round the quarter, announcing that the massacre was at an end (*paydoss*), and that there would be no more killing of Christians.

The next three days were occupied in removing the dead bodies, the Jews and donkeys being requisitioned by the authorities for that purpose.

Christians were not allowed to enter the church, now a ruin, the work of clearing out the *débris* being intrusted to the military, who are reported

to have picked up large quantities of melted gold and valuables hidden about their persons by the Armenians, in their vain hope that the cathedral would be considered a sanctuary.

The massacre was decidedly anti-Armenian, no distinction being made between Gregorians, Protestants, and Roman Catholics, whose church was also rifled. Only forty Jacobites out of 300 families and one Greek Catholic were killed, while two or three Chaldeans were wounded and none killed.

The thoroughness with which some of the work was done may be understood from the fact that 126 Armenian families have been absolutely wiped out, not even a woman or a baby remaining.

The task of computing the number of Armenians who met their death in this massacre is very difficult. The Turkish official registers of the former Armenian population and what now remains are utterly unreliable, owing to the large numbers unregistered in order to escape taxation, while many unofficial Turkish estimates of Armenian losses are far in excess of those given by the Armenians themselves, and are evidently exaggerated. After very minute and careful inquiry I believe that close on 8000 Armenians perished in the two days' massacre of the 28th and 29th December 1895, between 2500 and 3000 of whom were killed or burned in the cathedral.

I should, however, not be at all surprised if the figure of 9000 or 10,000 were subsequently found to be nearer the mark.

Moreover, the condition of thousands of widows, many thousands of orphans, and the grown-up men who remain, is wretched in the last extreme. At present the mortality, owing to uncared wounds, hunger, disease, and general extreme low physical and moral condition, is great, and may become still greater.

The loss of property, estimated roughly at from £T. 150,000 to £T. 200,000, is still harder to calculate. The majority have practically lost all except the clothes on their backs, while the authorities have made no serious attempt to restore the plundered property. Families which were formerly well off are now reduced to penury, and are too proud to ask assistance. Many of the children are unable to claim and look after the house and land property of their dead parents, and a great portion of this property is certain to be lost. Again, many Mussulmans, especially villagers, were largely indebted to the town Armenians. These debts are now unrecoverable, as the Mussulman thinks he has the same right to retain this property of the rebellious Armenian 'rayah' as he had to take their lives and other property. In fact, one of the features and results of recent massacres has been the veritable 'seisactheia,' as regards Mussulman debts to Armenians.

The general position of Armenians here and in the surrounding country, if not, indeed, in the Asiatic provinces of the empire, is deplorable. They are practically considered as outlaws, and it almost amounts to a capital offence in the eyes

of the Mussulmans to be an Armenian. Nothing but the stern punishment of the Mussulmans who have been prominent in recent massacres and disorders, combined with a long period of tranquillity, can restore confidence, and it is very doubtful whether this period of tranquillity will be vouchsafed to the Sultan's government. That government has committed the fatal error of confounding the guilty with the innocent, and, instead of using its just rights to punish with all the severity of the law such Armenians as have engaged in really treasonable action against their lawful rulers, it has committed the further and all but irreparable blunder of allowing the Mussulman population to usurp the prerogatives of government by wreaking their blind and unreasoning fury on a, to a great extent, guiltless section of his majesty's most intelligent, hard-working, and useful subjects.

The local authorities at Ourfa and in other towns of the region I have visited, excluding the Zeitoun incident, upon the origin of which I am not in a position to pronounce an opinion, have not, I believe, connived at or brought about these massacres without having in their hands justificatory instructions. These instructions are the result of their deliberate and criminal misrepresentations to Constantinople regarding the Armenians, together with the false and unstatesmanlike attitude of the central government on the whole question.

There is one fact which stands out prominently amid the confusion of statements and counter-

statements with regard to recent events. All sections of the Ottoman populations, in spite of their general ignorance, have a keen *flair* as to the main tendency of the wishes of their autocratic government; and both Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans assert that the government wished these massacres to take place, and that if it had not so wished they could not have taken place.

That government has been since in possession of both sides of the question, but so far it shrinks from inquiry, and manifests no desire to repair these disasters. Until it does so, its populations will not absolve it from the charge of having deliberately worked up these massacres.

Amid the wild devastation and destruction which has swept over this region there is one large Armenian village, named 'Guermuch,' which has so far escaped. This extraordinary fact happened in the following way:—When the Moslems attacked the Armenians of Ourfa, a mounted and armed multitude of tribal Kurds and Arabs bore down upon Guermuch. The Armenians, pitching a few tents they possessed in front of the village, made as large a display of armed force as they could muster, firing off their guns, and at the same time sending forward word to their assailants that the tents were occupied by soldiers sent by the government to protect the village. The Arabs and Kurds, who had been incited to destroy the village, were puzzled, deceived, and withdrew, under the impression that the government, for some

inexplicable reason, was really protecting the villagers of Guermuch.

The authorities of Ourfa shortly afterwards summoned the Guermuch Armenians to deliver up the arms with which they were alleged to have attacked the Mussulman Kurds and Arabs. The Armenians, however, came in in a body to Ourfa, telling the authorities that if government wished them to be massacred, they had better do so at once and on the spot in Ourfa, as they (the Armenians) were completely at their mercy, but that they would never surrender their weapons, which were their only protection against the surrounding armed and hostile Kurdish and Arab tribes. They still remain untouched and retain their arms, for which latter privilege they have paid no inconsiderable sums of money.

Your Excellency has further instructed me to inquire into the number of Armenians at Ourfa who have accepted Islamism in consequence of recent events.

That number in Ourfa is between 400 and 500. Some of these became Mussulmans between the first and second massacre (*i.e.* between the 28th October and the 29th December 1895), some during the second massacre, and the remainder since that massacre. They did so under threats, or under the conviction that there was no security of life and property, either from government or from their Moslem neighbours for any Armenians who openly professed Christianity.

Though government has not sanctioned the carrying out of the legal formalities necessary in

the case of conversions to Islam, and can thus say it does not officially recognise the neophytes, the latter are treated as Mussulmans by the officials and Moslem population.

The statements and facts contained in the foregoing account of the Ourfa massacre constitute a grave charge against the Ottoman government, and I have been duly impressed with the responsibility of embodying them in an official report.

Though the secret and terrorising methods of the Turkish administration do not always permit of the production of the evidence usually required by a European court, I have been at great pains to sift carefully my information, the greater portion of which I have obtained direct from Mussulman sources, or have had confirmed by Mussulman authority.—I have, etc.

(Signed) G. H. FITZMAURICE.

## 2. THE MASSACRE OF ZILEH

*(On the 28th of November 1896)*

Zileh is a town containing 5000 houses of which from 350 to 450 belong to the Armenians, from 15 to 20 to the Greeks, the others are Turkish. After the publication of the scheme of reform, when the calamitous news came in from the other towns, a body of 1200 Redifs was raised; of these half were quartered in a khan, and half were stationed within and without the town, so there was hope that everything might remain quiet at

Zileh. As, however, in spite of this the Turkish population assumed a more and more threatening attitude, the Armenians became anxious. When some of them wished to close their shops and take the goods into their houses, they were prevented by the officers, who, calling together the leading men among the Armenians, assured them they had nothing to fear, and urged them to resume their business.

On the 26th of November, the day for the annual market, the authorities sent the multitudes of Circassians and villagers who had come in, out of the town, which they gave over to the ordinary inhabitants. As the Armenians became more and more anxious, the governor sent them the following written message: 'The government is at all this expense on your account, if you still show signs of fear you will insult the government, and I shall therefore treat you as rebels and order you to be punished.' In consequence of this the greater number of the shopkeepers were at their posts as usual on November the 28th, and from forty to fifty of the most distinguished men among those who did not keep shops were ordered by the police to go to a casino in the market-place, some matter concerning taxation being the pretext. Suddenly at mid-day a trumpet signal sounded, and the Turkish soldiers, together with the mob, fell on the Armenians crying, 'Down with the Armenians! It is the Sultan's command. Their property belongs to the crown. Here is a good opportunity for plunder.' The captain ordered some forty to fifty soldiers to open fire, and



of those assembled in the casino all were murdered except twenty, and these escaped but not without wounds. In the course of two hours two hundred shops were robbed. The governor cried out to the multitude: 'Bestir yourselves; kill, plunder, and pray for the Sultan.' The other officers took part in the massacre. A major superintended the giving out of the cartridges when the rounds came to an end. The officers took care that the richest booty should be set aside for themselves by their own men.

From the market-place the attack spread by means of several organised bands into the different quarters of the town. The soldiers fired over the walls into the windows, and on any who showed themselves there. Under cover of their fire, the mob broke in the doors, delivered up the people who had remained behind, and pillaged the houses. A distinguished member of the law court, together with his two sons, was slain; his body was thrown out of the window with the words, 'Get you gone, the governor is expecting you at the sessions.' A woman was slain in her attempt to save her husband; her little child shared her fate. An old man of eighty was murdered by the mob, and his skull battered to pieces by another of the same age. A young man was held fast by some of the crowd, a Turk placed a revolver in the hand of his child aged eight or ten, and said, 'Shoot, my boy, and learn how we kill Giaours.'

Generally the choice between death and Mohammedanism was offered. A priest bared his

breast to the weapons rather than deny Christ, and was killed. Another said, 'I will not become a Mohammedan, but will die for the honour of Christ, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' He was run through with a bayonet.

Altogether, 200 shops and 300 houses were plundered, from 150 to 200 were murdered, and from 50 to 60 were wounded. An hour before sunset, a second trumpet-call was sounded, and the people began to withdraw. Some who could not leave their booty went on till the sunset put an end to their work, and allowed the surviving Armenians to recover from the horror of their position. During the night the dead were carried away in waggons and thrown on the dung-heaps outside the town. Corpses were hurled out of the windows, or drawn out of the houses by means of a rope attached to the feet. Next day, a hundred were buried in one pit in the Armenian graveyard. All but three were so hewn and mangled that recognition was impossible, as the doctor and priest who were present testified. The burial-place of the others is still unknown.

The total loss in goods and chattels is estimated at from a hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand pounds Turkish. Ten of those massacred were women, and twenty or thirty were children.

In this bitterly cold weather, the survivors are barefoot, almost without bedding, and crowded together in houses from which everything has been cleared, and which are without doors or



windows. Fifteen hundred persons greatly need the succour of their Christian brethren.

### 3. THE MASSACRE AT SCHEPIK

*(2nd November 1895)*

Schepik, near Arabkir, was pillaged on the second of November. Four hundred armed men under the leadership of Sarn Schechekli-Kurd-Oghlu attacked the village, firing on it till mid-day. They demanded a sum of money, a hundred Turkish pounds, when the elders of the village tried to treat with them. The aggressors were paid, but they would not go, 'We must also have your watches.' These were given, but they still refused to go. 'We shall take your corn, your cows, and your goats.' But even this did not satisfy them. 'We shall go through your houses and take whatever we like.' They did so, and swept off all the valuables. Thereupon we sent seven young men into the town to inform the government, but they were imprisoned and did not return. Some days later, one of them tried to escape and was shot.

When night came after the attack we hoped that all was over. But the next morning the Turks of the out-lying villages came and threatened to murder us, if we did not turn out of our houses. This we were forced to do, and they came in to plunder. For a whole week they went on burning the houses after they had emptied them, only ten of the poorest remained standing. But even from those they carried away the doors

and windows, and from some even the rafters were borne off. Then they attacked the women and took away their shoes and their clothes. On the eighth day after they had finished their work they came out to us as we sat by the stream, and on the opposite bank slew Pastor Melkon and Brother Baghdos because they refused to renounce their faith. When the darkness of night fell they returned with lanterns, and choosing out forty-five of our young men, declared that the government needed them. Knowing very well what threatened, they begged for an hour's respite. They prayed and sang, sought forgiveness one of another, kissed their parents' hands, and parted with tears, knowing that they could not expect to meet again. Led then to a lonely place at some half-hour's distance, and taken apart two and two, they were threatened with death if they would not change their religion. But with one voice, they all said fearlessly, 'We will not renounce our faith, we are ready to die for the love of our Saviour.' Only five succeeded in escaping, and the remaining forty became martyrs for the love of Jesus. The five fugitives spent twelve days in a cave. Those who were driven out of their houses wandered for some days about the mountains, hungry and destitute, till they dared to venture into the town of Arabkir, in order to seek there the help they hoped, but hoped in vain, to find. One portion were dispersed in other villages, another turned back and lived, or rather herded, in the ten remaining houses, with doors and windows gone. Money, beds, provisions,

were all lacking, ten died of hunger, and many fell ill owing to the cold and exposure before help came.

Schepik contained 86 houses with 470 inhabitants; fifty-three young men were massacred, and the number of widows and orphans is great.

#### 4. THE MASSACRE AT VAN

*(From the 14th to the 22nd of June 1896)*

We have just received from a reliable eye-witness a detailed report, dated the end of June, of the horrible butchery that took place at Van from June 14th to June 22nd. But of this, thanks to the secret-service system of the Turkish government, only very scanty and garbled accounts have penetrated into Europe. Countless human lives were sacrificed—the whole vilayet of Van (in Armenian Vaspurakan) was given over to destruction and devastation. The following is a translation of the report:—<sup>1</sup>

‘While, in the course of the last few years, fire and sword have made horrible ravages in all the Armenian provinces, and hundreds of thousands of Armenians were either massacred or suffering unspeakable misery, our province, Vaspurakan, enjoyed comparative peace. Although, since last autumn, we had suffered more or less from the pressure and persecution of the local Turkish government, no one could foresee what a horrible

<sup>1</sup> This is the first full report of the massacres in Van that has been made public.

fate was reserved for our prosperous country. The news of the barbarities practised in the different regions of Armenia filled us with fear and with great apprehension. We were in constant peril, and lived from day to day in expectation of an outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism. Many repeated attempts on the part of the Turkish mob, in our towns, to set on foot a general rising against the Armenians failed, owing to the timely and comprehensive precautions due to the energy of Vali Nazim Pasha.

‘The widespread fanaticism in the local Turkish circles was still further excited by the bearing of the commissioner Saadeddin Pasha, a special ambassador of the Sultan, who six months ago arrived here. He came avowedly as a peace-maker. When he was recalled last month to Constantinople, most probably because the unscrupulous authorities did not consider that he had been sufficiently severe and ruthless in his dealings with the Armenians, he sought by hastening on the execution of his evil schemes to prove that he was indispensable at his post as well as to show his resolution and his officious zeal. He actually went so far as to receive into his house for two days, the notorious robber-chief, Schekir (a Kurd condemned even by the Turkish law), whom he loaded with honours. Saadeddin Pasha had from the first tried to meddle in all military and civil affairs, and gradually to absorb all business into his own hands. He brought a charge of lukewarmness and incapacity against Vali Nazim Pasha, maintaining that through his

inactivity he had encouraged the "insurrectionary spirit" among the Armenian "Fidaji" (*i.e.* robber agitators), as the Turkish government calls them, instead of suppressing it. Hence he himself first took in hand the search of various houses, and then ordered a general search throughout the Armenian quarters, levying for this purpose a band of some three to four hundred troops. The whole thing proved to be futile.

'From friendly Turks the Armenians had learnt that an attack was planned for the 12th of June, so on that day they kept their bazaars and workshops closed, and withdrew to their houses in anxious expectation of the coming event. It may be remarked here that for some time—and especially since the departure of the Russian Consul, M. Vladimir, who had gone to Russia on furlough—murderous attacks on the Armenians took place constantly; five or six were massacred every day, and the local government did not concern itself in the least about this state of things. Among others, Zolak, a master at the local Armenian High School, was attacked by night in the street, stabbed, and hewn to pieces.

'During the night of June 13th several gunshots were heard in the Armenian quarter. This, as was clearly ascertained next day, was caused by the fact that a band of Kurdish salt-smugglers had attacked a Turkish night-patrol. In the fight that arose, only a horse belonging to one of the Kurds was killed, and the smugglers escaped. The Armenian population, in anxious bewilderment about the cause of the disturbance, expected

every moment that a massacre would begin. On the following morning the horse was, by command of the local authorities, publicly exhibited in the market-place, and it was given out that the patrol had been attacked by a band of Armenian robbers. The government used this opportunity for still further stimulating the excited feelings of the Turks against the Armenians, and the incident became the signal for the beginning of the attacks that had long ago been so carefully prepared.

'Major Halim Effendi, already notorious for his horrible cruelty at the massacres in Sassoun, was intrusted with the "police supervision" and the "duty of maintaining order" in a quarter of the town called Aigestan,<sup>1</sup> chiefly inhabited by Armenians. On Monday, June 16th, he betook himself at the head of a strong body of troops to the Klor-Dar-Street, where he ordered his men to halt and, without more ado, to fire on the panic-stricken crowd in the street. Then the massacre began, and a wild mob rushed in from the Turkish quarter, armed with guns, knives, swords, and axes, cut down all Armenians who came in their way, forced themselves into the houses, and there began to plunder, demolish, and burn. The murder and destruction lasted the whole day. The Armenian parts of the town, Klor-Dar, Arark, Haikavank, Thorman, Pos-Dagh, Tschavurme, Surp-Hagop,

<sup>1</sup> The town of Van consists of three portions—the so-called interior town is surrounded by a wall, and on the north side, on a mountain peak, rises the ancient fortress of Semiramis, now the Turkish citadel. The outer town, lying eastward beyond the walls, is called Aigestan, or the 'Garden-town.'

and Noraschen, were almost entirely destroyed. The number massacred—and these were exclusively males—amounted to 800, whilst the women and girls were shamefully and brutally abused, and for the most part carried away to the harems. Many fled to the dwellings of influential Turks in the hope of saving their lives, and about a hundred who sought refuge under the roof of the local mayor, Temur-Zade Halil Pasha, were led away, two days later, and massacred singly. The ecclesiastics, Dr. Daniel and the priest Mesrop, met an awful death; the latter was *flayed alive*, the former was slain out of doors, his body was dragged through the streets, and finally thrown into a refuse heap.

'The night passed quietly. But the next morning the fanatical Turkish mob renewed the attack. Now it was the turn of the streets in Aigestan that had been spared the day before. Here the Armenians, barricaded in their dwellings and scantily armed, made a desperate resistance, and the attacking hordes were repulsed. A number of women and children who had escaped the massacres of the previous days found refuge, by aid of the consuls, in the quarter defended by the Armenians. Meanwhile the town was getting filled by degrees with greedy Turks, Kurds, and Turkish gipsy-bands from the neighbourhood.

'On Wednesday, June the 17th, the Armenian positions were assaulted afresh by a multitude composed of all sorts of murderous and rapacious elements, and these were now supported by regular Hamidieh cavalry. The Armenians defended

themselves with all their might in a life and death struggle. With only brief interruptions the fight continued, waxing hotter and hotter, all through the night till the morning of the 18th. The position of the Armenians, shut in as they were by the enemy, became more and more terrible. The regular troops who had hitherto fought singly now received the order to march against the "rebels" in closed file. In the meantime a deadly fire was opened from cannon on a hill in Aigestan. The commissioner, Saadeddin Pasha, declared to Pater Doctor Sahak (the head of the Armenian Church there), as well as to the consuls, that he would fire from the citadel with Krupp cannons, and destroy the whole town if the "rebels" did not at once lay down their arms and surrender at discretion. The office of mediator between the two parties was undertaken by the English Consul, Mr. Williams, who, as the worthy representative of the ambiguous policy of his chief, and also in the hope of gaining the favour of the Turkish government, zealously endeavoured to fulfil his equivocal task. For political reasons Mr. Williams even adopted—against his own better wisdom—the Turkish attitude by which this necessary self-defence on the part of the Armenians was viewed as "rebellion." He found a helper in the American missionary, Mr. Raynolds, who would not let the favourable opportunity escape for currying favour with the Turkish government.

'Through Mr. Raynolds, the English Consul sent word to the Armenians that they should

choose delegates to discuss the situation with him and settle the terms for the restoration of peace and order. At the same time he caused it to be made known that he was commissioned to treat with them in the name of the six great Powers. The Armenians replied that they could agree to negotiate only in the presence, and with the co-operation, of the other consuls. A meeting took place on Friday, June the 19th, and the next day. There were present on one side beside Mr. Williams, the Persian Consul, Mirza Hussein Khan, and the temporary representative of the Russian Consulate, the Dragoman Karapet Tschilingaroff (the Russian Consul Vladimir being absent, as already noted); on the side of the Armenians the above-mentioned Doctor Sahak and three delegates besides. The consuls required from the Armenians the surrender of the three "ring-leaders" who had conducted the defence, and also sixty others who had made themselves conspicuous in the matter. It was expressly stated that they should be pardoned by the Sultan, and that the surrender should take place under the special guarantee of the English Consul. The Armenian delegates begged for a truce of twenty-four hours that they might confer with those who had sent them. Till their answer came no further attack on the part of the Turks was to take place. In spite of this definite assurance things fell out otherwise. During the night of the 20th of June, eight hours after the meeting was over, the Turks made another onslaught on the miserable Armenians. The whole of Aigestan was stormed by

means of six cannon on the hill of Akervikar near at hand. Pillage, murder, and destruction again began. Fire and sword raged for twelve hours—till the evening of the next day. Terror reigned in the whole town. The Governor requested the consuls, in order to escape the danger, to retire into the citadel, with their official dependants and the missionaries. However, as the representative of the Russian Consul announced that he was determined to remain at his post and to fall under the Russian flag, this proposal was declined by the remaining consuls. Thousands of Armenians found shelter in the houses of the consuls, and in the buildings of the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. The Armenians, who had made a defence and against whom the Turkish attack was chiefly directed, seeing the hopelessness of any further resistance, determined to abandon their position and leave the town. They saw that the destruction of the whole town was threatened, and cherished the delusive hope that the rest of their defenceless fellow-countrymen would be preserved from further persecution. About a thousand men, of whom only a fourth were armed, fought their way through to the monastery of Varag, which lies about five miles to the east of Van.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, the town was the scene of

<sup>1</sup> According to a written communication received by us from Persia, at the same time as the above account, about 850 of these men, who wished to escape to Persian dominions, were pursued by Kurdish Hamidieh, and after a desperate and heroic struggle were completely annihilated. Nothing more is known of the remaining 150, who had previously been separated from the main body.

indescribable cruelty and desolation. The soldiers, their numbers increased to from seven to eight thousand men by reinforcements from other garrisons, together with the mob, completed the work of plunder and desolation. On the same day, June 21st, a furious rabble tried to storm the residence of the consuls, the missionary establishments, and the adjacent houses. In these about 15,000 Armenians had taken refuge, and all were flying the English and Russian flags. The English Consul, trembling with fear and anxiety, appeared on the terrace of the Consulate, wearing a Turkish fez, and commanded the soldiers who had been sent for his protection to fire on the mob of assailants. This they did, and the mob then retired to the neighbouring streets.

'It may be remarked here that two days before, during the bombardment of Aigestan, a shell struck the wall of the English Consulate; it penetrated into the consul's bedroom, but did not burst.

'The interior of the town was comparatively free from murder and destruction, thanks to the energy of Major Emin Agha, who was able to hold his troops in check, and to disperse the populace, who assembled for attack over and over again.

'In this part only 15 Armenians were killed and about 150 shops looted. The conduct of this brave officer is worthy of the highest praise. A complete contrast to this is afforded by the behaviour of Major Halim Effendi, the commander of the troops in Aigestan, who personally incited

the mob, shouting to them: "Come on, my boys, kill them all! Then you can pillage and plunder at leisure."

'On Monday, June the 22nd, about mid-day, a trumpet-signal put an end to the eight days' butchery. The suburb of Aigestan was surrounded with a strong cordon of soldiers; large military patrols paraded the streets everywhere. All the fugitive Armenians were summoned in the name of the government to return to their houses—such houses as had escaped destruction—but they did not venture to leave their places of refuge. The hordes of Kurds, and the Hamidieh cavalry who had withdrawn from the town, now attacked the neighbouring villages and other places in the vilayet of Van, murdering, plundering, and burning everything in their way. The fate of the unfortunate Armenian country-people was horrible. Many villages were razed to the ground, the male inhabitants were slaughtered for the most part, girls and young women were carried off by force.<sup>1</sup> In the town itself about 200 women and girls were dragged by soldiers into the barracks, many Armenians were compelled to become Mohammedans, others escaped in all directions. The monasteries and churches were pillaged and burnt, and among these the venerable monastery of Varag.<sup>2</sup> It was stormed

<sup>1</sup> We were informed in letters from Persia that 150 of these captured women and girls were sold publicly as slaves in the Persian market for five shillings each.

<sup>2</sup> The monastery of Varag is the seat of an order of the same name, and has an important library and a large school attached to it.



by a division of troops with cannon ; and after the abbot Pater Aristakes and his brother Pater Verthanes had been beheaded on the threshold, and all the remaining monks together with their twenty-five pupils had been murdered, the building was pillaged and finally burnt.

'In the town more than a thousand Armenians were slain, the material loss was immeasurable, but the destruction of movable property alone amounted to more than one million pounds. About 3000 houses were plundered, and about 600 completely destroyed by fire, five churches were desecrated and burnt, and six schools were reduced to ashes.

'In the country the butchery and devastation were still more terrible, though at present exact reports are wanting ; but, on the strength of the reliable information I have, I am in a position to make the following statement:—The number of slaughtered Armenians must be reckoned at the lowest at 20,000 (other reports double these figures), not counting the thousands who fled in all directions, and disappeared leaving no trace. The women and girls carried off amount to many thousands. The material loss cannot at present be accurately estimated, but is, of course, enormously great. The prosperity of our thriving province is ruined for many a long year ; hardly a village has escaped pillage and devastation, the fields are laid waste, the crops destroyed, the cattle (so far as any are left alive) have fallen into the hands of the Kurds. Thousands of families in the towns and in the country are

deprived of their bread-winners, and many prosperous citizens and farmers are at the present moment reduced to beggary. Throughout the district wild beasts satisfy their hunger on the corpses of thousands of the unfortunate victims, lying about to glut the eyes of the blood-thirsty Turkish and Kurdish robbers. When the Russian consul, M. Vladimir, returned two days ago from furlough many of the streets were still uncleared, and as he entered the town his carriage was forced to drive over corpses that covered whole streets in countless numbers. During the last few days troops of fugitive women and children have been pouring into the place in pitiable condition. They find shelter at the Consulates, as well as in the house and institutions of the Protestant and Catholic missionaries ; but the greater number are encamping in the open air. At present the number of these fugitives is about 25,000, but this will probably be increased by new arrivals. The relief of these destitute masses can hardly be enough, for, under existing circumstances, at present not more than 15,000 loaves of bread can be distributed daily. Many must endure hunger for days together ; numbers die daily from starvation ; sickness is beginning to make havoc among them, and an outbreak of cholera is feared.

'The Turkish government has had a double object in view in organising these massacres in our province. By carrying out the plans for the extermination of our nation already systematically executed elsewhere, they wished first to get rid

of the Armenian population of Vaspurakan at one blow, and at the same time to satisfy the greed and rapacity of the Turks and Kurds, and particularly of the discontented soldiery, who had received no pay for a long time.

'In spite of all this the commissioner, Saadeddin Pasha, by pure force compelled a number of prominent Armenians to sign a letter addressed to the Sultan in which they explained that the "trivial disturbances" in Van were "due to the instigation of a few Armenian criminals."

'The civil governor, Nazim Pasha, sent in his resignation which was at once accepted, and the post was given to commissioner Saadeddin Pasha, who immediately instituted a court-martial for the purpose of giving judgment on these "rebels."

'At present comparative peace reigns outwardly—the peace of the grave. We still live under the strain of the late horrors and in perpetual fear, looking with desperate anxiety into the future without confidence and without hope. On all hands we find grief, misery, and terrible destitution. The whole of Vaspurakan, this favoured land, lies ruined amid blood and ashes. What will become of us? How will this frightful state of things end? God only knows. May He, the All-Merciful, speedily put an end to our unspeakable sufferings!'

### III. THE CONDITION OF ARMENIA BEFORE THE MASSACRES

BY E. J. DILLON

(*Contemporary Review*, August 1895<sup>1</sup>)

TURKEY'S real sway in Armenia dates from the year 1847, when Osman Pasha gave the final *coup de grâce* to the secular power of the Kurdish Derebeks in the five south-eastern provinces (Van, Bitlis, Moush, Bayazed, and Diarbekir). During that long spell of nearly fifty years, we can clearly distinguish two periods: one of shameful misgovernment (1847-1891), and the other (1892-1894) of frank extermination. Suasion or remonstrance may do much to remedy the abuses that flow from the former system; force alone can achieve anything against the latter. And in this sense Lord Salisbury's recently expressed view of the matter is absolutely correct.

In the year 1891 the Sublime Porte fearing serious dangers from the promised introduction of reforms into Armenia, and from the anticipated hostility in war-time of the Christians living in provinces bordering upon Russia, resolved to kill two birds with one stone, and created the

<sup>1</sup> This article is not here reprinted as a whole, but merely those portions which Dr. Lepsius incorporated in his book.



so-called Hamidieh cavalry, composed exclusively of Kurds. It was an application of the principle, on which rebels and rioters throw open the prison doors and invite convicts to rob and kill the members of the upper classes. The plan as propounded by some of the highest officials of the empire was that the Armenians were to be driven out of the border lands, such as Alashkerd, their places to be taken by Mohammedans, that their numbers in all the five provinces were to be so considerably reduced that the need of special reforms for them should pass away, and that in case of war the Kurds should act as a counter-weight to the Cossacks.

This plain policy of extermination has been faithfully carried out and considerably extended from that day to this, and, unless speedily arrested, will undoubtedly lead to a final solution of the Armenian problem. But a solution which will disgrace Christianity and laugh civilisation to scorn. The enlisted Kurds were left in their native places, exempted from service, supplied with arms, invested with the inviolability of ambassadors, and paid with the regularity characteristic of the Sublime Porte. And they fulfilled their mission with scrupulous exactness: robbing rich Armenians, looting houses, burning corn and hay, raiding villages, lifting cattle, raping young girls of tender age, dishonouring married women, driving away entire populations, and killing all who were manly or mad enough to attempt to resist. Armenians are now among the poorest and most wretched people on the globe.

Perhaps the Turkish authorities did not foresee, nor Turkish justice approve, these results? The authorities not only expected them, but aided and abetted, incited and rewarded those who actually committed them; and whenever an Armenian dared to complain, not only was he not listened to by the officials whom he paid to protect him, but he was thrown into a fetid prison and tortured and outraged in strange and horrible ways for his presumption and insolence.

The massacre of Sassoun itself is now proved to have been the deliberate deed of the representatives of the Sublime Porte, carefully planned and unflinchingly executed in spite of the squeamishness of Kurdish brigands and the fitful gleams of human nature that occasionally made themselves felt in the hearts even of Turkish soldiers.

To complain, therefore, of the insecurity of life and property in Armenia, so long as the country is irresponsibly governed by the Sublime Porte, is as reasonable as it would be for a soldier to object to the great danger to life and limb from the enemy's bullets during a sanguinary engagement. The result complained of is precisely the object aimed at, and its completeness the most conclusive proof of the efficiency of the means employed. An eminent foreign statesman who is commonly credited with Turcophile sentiments of uncompromising thoroughness, lately remarked to me in private conversation that Turkish rule in Armenia might be aptly described as organised brigandage, legalised murder, and meritorious immorality. Protests against such a system may

be right and proper, but they can hardly be considered profitable. A philanthropist visiting a prison may feel shocked when he discovers one of the convicts with his hands and feet tied with cords; but he will scarcely spend time in complaining if he learns that the prisoner has been condemned to death, and is about to be hanged by the executioner.

The first step in carrying out the Plan of Extermination was the systematic impoverishment of the people. This is natural in a country whose officials are kept waiting eight or ten months for their salaries, and must then content themselves with but a fraction of what is due. 'I have not received a para<sup>1</sup> for the past twenty weeks, and I cannot buy even clothes,' exclaimed the official who was told off to 'shadow' me day and night in Erzeroum. 'Do they pay you your salary regularly?' I inquired of the head of the telegraph office at Kutek. 'No, Effendi, not regularly,' he replied; 'I have not had anything now for fully eight months. Oh yes, I have; a month's salary was given to me at Bairam.'<sup>2</sup> 'How do you manage to live, then?' 'Poorly.' 'But you must have some money to go on with, or else you could not keep body and soul together?' 'I have a little, of course, but not enough. Allah is good. You have now given me some money yourself.' 'Yes, but that is not for you; it is for telegrams, and belongs to the State.' 'Well, my shadow will have grown considerably less before the State

<sup>1</sup> A Turkish coin. Forty paras are equivalent to twopence.

<sup>2</sup> Bairam is the festival which follows the long fast of Ramazan.

beholds the gleam of it. I keep for myself all money paid in by the public. I take it as instalments of my salary. It does not amount to very much. But whatever it happens to be, I pocket it.' These men are, of course, petty officials, but their case is not essentially different from that of the majority of their betters, and judges, officers, deputy-governors, and valis, etc., etc., are to the full as impecunious and incomparably more greedy.

Tahsin Pasha, the late Governor-General of Bitlis, is a fair specimen of the high Turkish dignitary of the epoch of extermination. An avaricious skinflint, he was as cruel as Ugolino's enemy, Ruggieri, and as cold as Captain Maleger in Spenser's *Fäery Queen*. He cultivated a habit of imprisoning scores of wealthy Armenians, without any imputed charge or show of pretext. Liberty was then offered them in return for exorbitant sums representing the greater part of their substance. Refusal to pay was followed by treatment compared with which the torture of the Jews in mediæval England, or the agonies of the eunuchs of the princesses of Oude in modern India, were mild and salutary chastisements. Some men were kept standing up all day and night, forbidden to eat, drink, or move. If they lost strength and consciousness cold water or hot irons soon brought them round, and the work of coercion continued. Time and perseverance being on the side of the Turks, the Armenians generally ended by sacrificing everything that made life valuable, for the sake of exemption from maddening pain. It was a case of sacrificing or

being sacrificed, and that which seemed the lesser of the two evils was invariably chosen.

In the vilayet of Bitlis several hundred Armenians who possessed money, cattle or crops, were arbitrarily imprisoned and set free on the payment of large bribes. Some of them, unable to produce the money at once, were kept in the noisome dungeons until they raised the sum demanded, or were released by death. About one hundred Armenian prisoners died in the prison of Bitlis alone. The following petition signed and sent to me—and, if I mistake not, also to the foreign delegates at Moush—from a well-known man whose name and address I publish, will help to convey some idea of how the Vali of Bitlis governed his province, and prospered the while: 'We, who have served the Turkish government with absolute loyalty, are maltreated and oppressed, more particularly of late years, now by the government itself, now by Kurdish brigands. Thus last year (1894) I was suddenly arrested at my own house by Turkish police and gendarmes, who escorted me to the prison of Bitlis, where I was insulted and subjected to the most horrible tortures. Having been kept four months there I was released on condition of paying £450, by way of ransom. No reason, no pretext has been given for this treatment. On my return home, I found my house in disorder, my affairs ruined, my means gone. My first thought was to appeal to the Turkish government for redress, but I shrank from doing so, lest I should be condemned again.

Hearing that you have come to Armenia for the purpose of investigating the condition of the people, I venture to request you, in God's name, to take notice of the facts of my case. Signed, Boghos Darmanian, of the village of Iknakhodja, of the Kaza of Manazkerd.'

In 1890, the village elder of Odandjor in Boolanyk, Abdal by name, was a wealthy man, as wealth goes in that part of the world. He possessed fifty buffaloes, eighty oxen, six hundred sheep, besides horses, etc. The women of his family wore golden ornaments in their hair and on their breast, and he paid £50 a year in taxes to the Treasury. That was in 1890. In 1894 he was a poverty-stricken peasant, familiar with misery and apprehensive of death from hunger. His village and those of the entire district had been plundered, and the inhabitants stripped, so to say, naked, the Turkish authorities smiling approval the while. During the year 1894, in the districts of Boolanyk and Moush alone, upwards of ten thousand head of cattle and sheep were driven off by the Kurds.

This was the method in vogue all over the country; the details varied according to the condition of things, places, and kinglets, but the means and end never varied. The result is the utter disappearance of wealth and the rapid spread of misery, so intense, so irremediable, so utterly loathsome in its moral and physical effects as to have inspired some of its victims with that wild courage akin to madness which always takes its rise in despair.

Between the Vali or Governor-General and the zaptieh or tax-gatherer the rungs of the administrative ladder are many, and to each and all of them some portion of the substance of industrious Armenians adheres. No doubt there are far worse things than the loss of one's property, and unemotional Englishmen would rather save their sympathy for those who have endured them. But surely even that is bad enough when the outcome not of crime, accident, or carelessness, but of shameless and defiant injustice, and where the loser has a family of some fifteen to twenty persons. And that the loss of property very often entailed far greater losses will be evident from some of the following facts.

In July 1892, a captain of his majesty's Hamidieh cavalry, Idris by name, an ornament of the Hassnanlee tribe, came with his brother to demand a contribution of fodder from the inhabitants of Hamsisheikh. They accosted two of the Armenian notables, Alo and Hatchadoor, and ordered them to provide the hay required. 'We do not possess such a quantity in the whole village,' they replied. 'Produce the hay without more ado, or I'll shoot you dead,' exclaimed Idris. 'But it does not exist, and we cannot create it.' 'Then die,' said the gallant captain, and shot them dead on the spot. A formal complaint was lodged against Idris, and the Kaimakam, to his credit, arrested him and kept him in prison for four weeks, when the valiant Kurd having paid the usual bribe was set at liberty. About thirty similar murders were com-

mitted in the same district of Boolanyk during that season, with the same publicity and the same impunity.

At first the Armenians were wont to complain when their relatives or friends were killed, in the hope that in some cases the arm of the law might be raised to punish the murderers and thus produce a deterrent effect upon others who might feel disposed to go and do likewise. But they were very soon weaned of this habit, by methods the nature of which may be gathered from the following incident: In July 1892 a Kurd named Ahmed Ogloo Batal rode over to Govandook (District of Khnouss) and drove off four oxen belonging to an Armenian named Mookho. In 1892 the law forbidding Christians to carry arms was not yet strictly observed, and Mookho possessing a revolver, and seeing that the Kurd was about to use his, fired. Both weapons went off at once and both men fell dead on the spot. What then happened was this: Nineteen Armenians of the village, none of whom had any knowledge of what had occurred, were arrested and put in jail and told that they would be released on payment of a heavy bribe. Ten paid it and were set free at once. The remainder, refusing, were kept in prison for a long time afterwards. None of the Kurds were molested. 'Why should Mohammedans be punished for killing Armenians?' asked a Kurdish brigand who was also a Hamidieh officer, of me. 'It is unheard of.' Why indeed? That the relatives of the murdered people should be punished and punished severely

for complaining of those who have made them widows or orphans seems meet and proper to the Mohammedan mind—perhaps because it is usual.

In August 1893 the Djibranlee Kurds attacked the village of Kaghkik, plundered it, and wounded a merchant named Oannes, who was engaged in business in his shop. Next day Oannes went to the Deputy-Governor (Kaimakam) in Khnoussaberd and lodged a complaint, whereupon the Kaimakam put him in prison for 'lying.' The sufferings inflicted upon him in that hotbed of typhoid fever exceed belief—but that is another story. After eight days his neighbours brought a Kurd before the Kaimakam who bore out their evidence that Oannes had been really wounded in the manner described, and that he was not lying. Then, and then only, the authorities *allowed the people* to pay a bribe of ten pounds for the release of the wounded man.

The inhabitants of Krtaboz (a village in Bassen) told me several horrible stories of what they had to endure lately from the Kurds, who drove off their twenty-three oxen, twenty-eight horses, sixty cows, and twenty sheep. One which illustrates the method of *Turkish* justice will suffice to give the reader an inkling of their nature. 'Last May (1894) twelve mounted Hamidieh's attacked our village and seized our priest, Der David. They promised to release him if he paid them six pounds. He borrowed the sum, gave it to his captors and was set free. The troops fired upon the other villagers, who ran away. Next day Guil Beg went to Hassankaleh to complain to the

authorities. They abused him, called him a liar, and ordered him to be imprisoned. After having spent forty days in the horrible hole called a prison, he was permitted to pay a bribe of seven pounds and go home.'

There is no redress whatever for a Christian who has suffered in property, limb, or life at the hands of Mohammedans; not because the law-officers are careless or lethargic, but because they are specially retained on the other side. And the proof of this, if any proof were needed, is that the complainants themselves are speedily punished for lodging an information against their persecutors. But whenever a Kurd or a Turk is the victim of a 'crime,' or even an accident, the energy of the government officials knows no bounds. In the spring of last year, when the snows were thawing and the waters rose high in the rivers and streams, some needy Kurds were moving along the bank of the river, hard by Hussnakar. They were wretched beggars, asking alms, and battling with fate. In an attempt to ford the river they were carried away and drowned. Forthwith the villagers were accused of having murdered them, and four Armenian notables were arrested and imprisoned in Hassankaleh on this trumped-up charge, the real object of which was not disguised. After the lapse of seven or eight months the villagers were told that on payment of a bribe of £75 the prisoners would be discharged. The money had to be scraped together and paid to the authorities, whereupon the men were released. I saw two of them, Atam and Dono, myself.



The taxes levied upon Armenians are exorbitant; the bribes that invariably accompany them, and are imposed by the zaptiehs, may swell to any proportions, and assume the most repugnant forms, while the methods employed to collect both constitute by themselves a sufficient justification for the sweeping away of Ottoman rule in Armenia.

To give a fair instance of the different rates of taxation for Christians and Mohammedans in towns it will suffice to point out that in Erzeroum, where there are 8000 Mohammedan houses, the Moslems pay only 395,000 piastres, whereas the Christians, whose houses number but 2000, pay 430,000 piastres.

In the country districts everything without exception is highly taxed by the government, and the heaviest burden of this legal exaction is light when compared with the extortion practised by its agents, the zaptiehs. A family, for instance, is supposed to contribute, say, £5, and fulfils its obligation. The zaptiehs, however, ask for £3 or £4 more for themselves, and are met with a rash refusal. Negotiations, interlarded with violent and abusive language, ensue, and £1 is accepted. But the zaptiehs' blood is up. In a week they return and demand the same taxes over again. The Armenians wax angry, protest and present their receipt; whereat the zaptiehs laughingly explain that the document in question is no receipt but a few verses from a Turkish book. The villagers plead poverty and implore mercy. Greed, not compassion, moves the zaptiehs to

compromise the matter for £3 more, but the money is not forthcoming. Then they demand the surrender of the young women and girls of the family to glut their brutal appetites, and refusal is punished with a series of tortures over which decency and humanity throw a veil of silence. Rape, and every kind of brutal outrage conceivable to the diseased mind of Oriental profligates, and incredible to the average European intelligence, varied perhaps with murder or arson, wind up the incident.

I have seen and spoken with victims of these representatives of the Sublime Porte; I have inspected their wounds, questioned their families, interrogated their priests, their persecutors, and their gaolers (some of them being incarcerated for complaining), and I unhesitatingly affirm not merely that these horrors are real facts but that they are frequent occurrences. The following is the translation of an authentic document in my possession, signed and sealed by the inhabitants of Melikan (Caza of Keghi), addressed as recently as March 26 of the present year to his Beatitude, the learned and saintly Metropolitan Archbishop of Erzeroum, a dignitary who enjoys the respect and esteem of friends and foes:

'For a long time past the four or five zaptiehs charged with the collection of the imperial taxes have chosen our village for their head quarters, and compel the inhabitants of the outlying country to come hither to pay their contributions. They eat, drink, and feed their horses at our expense, undisguisedly showing that they are resolved to reduce us to beggary.

'Lately seven other zaptiehs, who had not even the pretext of collecting the taxes, entered our village, beat the inhabitants, insulted the Christian religion, and dishonoured our wives and daughters, after which they seized three men who protested—Boghos, Mardig, and Krikor—bound them with a twofold chain and hung them up by the feet from the rafters. They left them in this position until the blood began to flow from their nostrils. These poor men fell ill in consequence. The zaptiehs, however, declared publicly that they had treated the people thus merely in obedience to the special orders of the chief of police.

'We therefore appeal to imperial justice to rescue us from this unbearable position. The inhabitants of the village of Melikan, Caza of Keghi.

(Signed) KATSHERE.

'26th March 1895.'

Here is another petition from another village of the same Caza, likewise addressed to the Metropolitan Archbishop of Erzeroum:

'A number of zaptiehs, on pretext of gathering the taxes, rode into our village at five o'clock Turkish (about ten o'clock A.M.), broke open the doors of our dwellings, entered the inner apartments, clutched our wives and children, who were in a state of semi-nudity, and cast them into the road along with the couches on which they lay. Then they beat and maltreated them most cruelly. Finally they selected over thirty of our women, shut them up in a barn, and wrought their criminal will upon them. Before leaving they took all the food and fodder we possessed, as is their invariable custom. We beg to draw your attention to these facts

and to implore the imperial clemency. The inhabitants of the village of Arek, Caza of Keghi.

(Signed) MOORADIAN, RESSIAN, BERGHOYAN,  
MELKONIAN.

'26th March 1895.'

I was present myself in the house of an Armenian peasant, of the village of Kipri Kieu, when a number of mounted zaptiehs arrived, woke up the inmates, and insolently demanded food for themselves, barley for their horses, and couches for the night. What more they would have called for I am not prepared to say, but I extricated my host from the difficulty by refusing them admittance on the ground that I had hired the house for the night. No wonder that the peasants of the District of Khnouss complain, in the petition which they asked me to lay before 'the noble and humane people of England,' 'That the once prosperous and fertile country is now deserted, waste, and desolate.'

These, then, are the horrors which are connoted by the phrase so flippantly uttered by certain enlightened English people: 'These Armenians and Kurds are eternally quarrelling, and a little bloodshed more or less would not seem seriously to affect the general average.' It is true enough, in the sense in which it is correct to say that sheep and wolves are perpetually at war with each other, and in this sense only. The Armenians are naturally peaceful in all places: passionately devoted to agriculture in the country, and wholly absorbed by mercantile pursuits in the towns. Lest their inborn aversion to blood-

shed, however, should be overcome by the impulse of duty, the instinct of self-defence, or deep-rooted affection for those near and dear to them, they are forbidden to possess arms, and the tortures that are inflicted on the few who disregard this law, would bring a blush to the cheek of a countryman of Confucius.<sup>1</sup> They must rely for protection exclusively upon the Turkish soldiers and the Turkish law.

The nature of the protection afforded by the imperial troops was sufficiently clearly revealed last August and September on the slopes of Frfrkar and the heights of Andok, in the hamlets of Dalvorik and in the valley of Ghellyegoozan. The villages of Odandjor, Hanzasheikh, Kakarloob Kharagyul, flourishing and prosperous in 1890-1891, did not contain one sheep, one buffalo, one horse in 1894. The stables were all tenantless, the stalls all empty, and the ashes of seventy enormous stacks of corn told the rest of the tale. This was the congenial work of the Kurds, whose friends, the Turkish troops, were quartered, to the number of 200 horse soldiers in Yondjalee, half an hour distant from Odandjor, 200 in Kop, and 100 in Shekagoob. The protection which they afforded was given to the Kurds, and the reward they received was a share in the spoils.

<sup>1</sup> Khozro, a well-to-do inhabitant of Prkhooss near Lake Nazig (District of Akhlat) was a lucky exception. True, he did not exactly possess a gun, but he was suspected of having one. His house was searched, the floor dug up, the roof examined, in vain. Then he was imprisoned for a month and allowed to purchase his liberty by paying £70 in gold and signing a paper to the effect that he never had fire-arms of any kind.

The protection given by Turkish law is of a like nature, only incomparably more disastrous to those Armenians who venture to have recourse to it. Two or three instances, vouched for by a host of witnesses, verified by foreign consuls and authenticated by official documents, will throw light enough for all practical purposes upon the strange forms assumed by Turkish justice in the province of Armenia.

Kevork Vartanian, of the village of Mankassar (Sandjak of Alashkerd) testified, among other things, as follows: 'In 1892, a Kurd, Andon by name, son of Kerevash (of the tribe of Tshalal), came with his comrades to my house and took five pounds in gold belonging to me, which I had saved up to buy seed-corn with. I lodged a complaint against him, but the authorities dismissed me with contempt. Andon, hearing of my attempt to have him punished, came one night with twelve men, stood on our roof and looking down through the aperture fired. My daughter-in-law, Yezeko, struck by a bullet, fell dead. Her two boys and my child Missak (two years old) likewise lost their lives then and there. Then the Kurds entered the apartments and took my furniture, clothing, four oxen, and four cows. I hastened to the village of Karakilisse and complained to Rahim Pasha. Having heard my story, he said: 'The Hamidieh Kurds are the Sultan's warriors. To do thus is their right. You Armenians are liars.' *And we were imprisoned.* We did not obtain our release until we had paid two pounds in gold.



'The following winter two hundred soldiers entered our village under the leadership of Rahim Pasha himself. He at once told us that it was illegal to complain of the doings of the Kurds. Then he quartered himself and his troops upon us and demanded daily eight sheep, ten measures of barley, besides eggs, poultry, and butter. Forty days running our village supplied these articles of food gratis, receiving curses and blows for our pains. Rahim Pasha, angry with his host, Pare, for grumbling, had a copper vessel hung over the fire and, when heated, ordered it to be placed on Pare's head. Then he had him stripped naked and little bits of flesh nipped out of his quivering arms with pincers.

'These ruffians had scarcely quitted our village when Aïpé Pasha with sixty horsemen took their places. Seeing that there were no more sheep to be had in the village, they slaughtered and ate our cows and oxen, and having inflicted much suffering upon us during six days, they too left. To whom could we address our complaints, seeing that the legally constituted authorities themselves perpetrated these things? Nothing was left for us but to quit the country, which we did.'

Take another case, in which the victim was the wife of a Protestant Armenian missionary, Madame Sookyassian, of the village of Todoveran (District of Bassen). I am personally acquainted with that family, and possess the portraits of all the members of it, including the lady who was afterwards murdered. 'On September 12, 1894,' deposed Armenag Sookyassian, the son of the

missionary's wife, 'we were seated at table in my father's house, when a boy came and told us that the Turks and Kurds had come to attack us Christians. My brother crossed over to the other side of the street, where our shop was, to fetch a revolver. Sixteen Kurdish horsemen meanwhile entered the street, ascended the roofs, and opened fire. We barricaded the door, but they broke it in. A bullet struck my mother on the shoulder but without inflicting a serious wound. She defended herself (being on the roof) by throwing stones. Meanwhile one of the Moham-medans levelled his gun and, taking aim, fired. The bullet struck her on the cheek and passed out under the ear, carrying away the whole side of her face. She dropped, was carried in, and asked for water, which could only be given by raising her upper jaw. Next morning she was dead. We complained, but no one was punished.'

One more typical instance and I shall have done with this branch of the subject. The case which I am now about to narrate is taken not merely from the depositions of the parties interested, but from the official records, signed and sealed by government employés, which I myself have seen. It throws a more powerful light upon Turkish justice, and teaches a more useful lesson to those who still honestly believe in Turkish promises than the most eloquent diatribe.

In the month of June, 1890, the village of Alidjikrek was the scene of a double crime. The

Armenian shepherds who were tending the flocks of the villagers rushed in excitedly asking for help. 'The Kurds of Ibil Ogloo Ibrahim came up with their sheep and drove us out of the village pastures.' It was one of the commonplaces of village life in Turkish Armenia. Four young men set out to reason with the Moslems and assert the rights of property; but scarcely had they reached the ground, when the Kurds opened fire and killed one of the youths, named Hossep, on the spot. Another fell mortally wounded; his name, Haroothioon. Their comrades fled in horror to the village; the people, dismayed, abandoned their work; the parish priest and several of the principal inhabitants ran to the scene of the murder, others rode off to inform the gendarmes.

The zaptiehs (gendarmes) accompanied by an official were soon on the spot. They found Hossep dead, and the parish priest, Der Ohannes, administering the last consolations of religion to the dying Haroothioon. They ordered the prayers to cease and menacingly asked, 'Where are the Kurdish murderers?' 'They have fled,' was the reply. 'Indeed; probably you, dogs, have killed them, and buried them out of sight. You are all my prisoners.' (Turning to the priest.) 'You too, come!' And they were all taken to Hassankaleh and thrown into the loathsome dungeon there. After a time they were transferred to the prison of Erzeroum.

The parish priest, Der Ohannes, was a well-to-do man. The process of systematic impoverish-

ment was then only beginning. His brother Garabed, and their ten comrades in misfortune, were likewise men of substance, and it seemed desirable to the officials that their property should change hands. They were left therefore to soak in the fetid vapours of a reeking Eastern prison-house. The time dragged slowly on, day by day, week by week, and month by month, till they seemed to have been completely forgotten. Their families were in an endless agony of fear, their affairs were utterly neglected, their health was wholly undermined. In this pandemonium they passed a year—the most horrible period of their lives.

Then they humbly besought their persecutors to help them to their liberty and to name the price. The terms were agreed to and they were advised to send Kurds to hunt up traces of the Kurdish murderers whom they were accused of having murdered in turn. 'If they be found you will be set free.' The cost of this advice and of the ways and means of carrying it out amounted to about £400, which the prisoners were compelled to borrow at forty per cent. interest.

The search was of course successful, Kurdish and Turkish assassins, when their victims are Christians, having no need to hide their persons, no motive to hang their heads. What they do is well done. These particular heroes were found enrolled in a battalion of his majesty's favourite cavalry—the Hamidieh of Alashkerd. They confessed and did not deny: a cloud of witnesses—Turks and Kurds of course, Christians being

disqualified—testified in court in favour of the twelve Armenian prisoners, who were then set at liberty, with ruined fortunes and broken health. The sentence of the court set forth that the Armenians, charged with the crime of having killed certain Kurds who had assassinated two Armenian villagers, had proved their innocence, the Kurds in question having been discovered living and well, serving the Commander of the Faithful in the Hamidieh Corps.

The Kurdish murderers, about whose precious lives so much fuss was made, were left in peace, and they still continue to serve his majesty the Sultan with the same zeal and contempt of consequences as before.

A dog will bark if another dog be shot in its presence. These Armenians did not even grumble; they simply called in the representatives of imperial law and justice, who proceeded to deal with them as with murderers. But Christians in Armenia dare not aspire to be treated with the consideration shown to obedient dogs by good-natured masters.

The stories told of these Kurdish Hamidieh officers in general, and of one of them, named Mostigo, in particular, seemed so wildly improbable that I was at great pains to verify them. Learning that this particular Fra Diavolo had been arrested and was carefully guarded as a dangerous criminal in the prison of Erzeroum, where he would probably be hanged, I determined to obtain, if possible, an interview with him and learn the truth from his own lips. My first

attempt ended in failure; Mostigo being a desperate murderer, who had once before escaped from jail, was subjected to special restrictions, and if I had carried out my original plan of visiting him in disguise, the probability is I should not have returned alive. After about three weeks tedious and roundabout negotiations, I succeeded in gaining the gaoler's ear, having first replenished his purse. I next won over the brigand himself, and the upshot of my endeavours was an arrangement that Mostigo was to be allowed to leave the prison secretly, and at night, to spend six hours in my room, and then to be re-conducted to his dungeon.

When the appointed day arrived the gaoler repudiated his part of the contract, on the ground that Mostigo, aware that his life was forfeited, would probably give the prison a wide berth if allowed to leave its precincts. After some further negotiations, however, I agreed to give two hostages for his return, one of them a brother Kurd, whose life the brigand's notions of honour would not allow him to sacrifice for the chance of saving his own. At last he came to me one evening, walking over the roofs, lest the police permanently stationed at my door should espy him. I kept him all night, showed him to two of the most respectable Europeans in Erzeroum, and, lest any doubt should be thrown on the story, had myself photographed with him next morning.

The tale unfolded by that Kurdish noble constitutes a most admirable commentary upon

Turkish *régime* in Armenia. This is not the place to give it in full. One or two short extracts must suffice.

*Q.* 'Now, Mostigo, I desire to hear from your own lips and to write down some of your wonderful deeds. I want to make them known to the "hat-wearers."' <sup>1</sup>

*A.* 'Even so. Announce them to the Twelve Powers.' <sup>2</sup>

There were evidently no misgivings about moral consequences; no fears of judicial punishment. And yet retribution was at hand; Mostigo was said to be doomed to death. Desirous of clearing up this point, I went on:

'I am sorry to find that you are living in prison. Have you been long there?'

*A.* 'I, too, am sorry. Five months, but it seems an age.'

*Q.* 'These Armenians are to blame, I suppose?'

*A.* 'Yes.'

*Q.* 'You wiped out too many of them, carried off their women, burned their villages, and made it generally hot for them, I am told?'

*A.* (scornfully). 'That has nothing to do with my imprisonment. I shall not be punished for plundering Armenians. We all do that. I seldom killed, except when they resisted. But the Armenians betrayed me and I was caught. That's what I mean. But if I be hanged it will be for attacking and robbing the Turkish post and violating the wife of a Turkish colonel who

<sup>1</sup> The Kurds call all Europeans hat-wearers, and generally regard them with respect and awe.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* to the whole universe.

is now here in Erzeroum. But not for Armenians! Who are they, that I should suffer for them?'

After he had narrated several adventures of his, in the course of which he dishonoured Christian women, killed Armenian villagers, robbed the post and escaped from prison, he went on to say:

'We did great deeds after that: deeds that would astonish the Twelve Powers to hear told. We attacked villages, killed people who would have killed us, gutted houses, taking money, carpets, sheep, and women, and robbed travellers. . . . Daring and great were our deeds, and the mouths of men were full of them.'

Having heard the story of many of these 'great deeds,' in some of which fifty persons met their death, I asked:

*Q.* 'Do the Armenians ever offer you resistance when you take their cattle and their women?'

*A.* 'Not often. They cannot. They have no arms, and they know that even if they could kill a few of us it would do them no good, for other Kurds would come and take vengeance; but when we kill them no one's eyes grow large with rage. The Turks hate them, and we do not. We only want money and spoil, and some Kurds also want their lands, but the Turks want their lives. A few months ago I attacked the Armenian village of Kara Kipriu and drove off all the sheep in the place. I did not leave one behind. The villagers, in despair, did follow us that time and fire some shots at us, but it was nothing to speak of. We drove the sheep towards Erzeroum to sell them there. But on the way we had a fight near the Armenian village of

Sheme. The peasants knew we had lifted the sheep from their own people, and they attacked us. We were only five Kurds and they were many—the whole village was up against us. Two of my men—*rayahs*<sup>1</sup> only—were killed. We killed fifteen Armenians. They succeeded in capturing forty of the sheep. The remainder we held and sold in Erzeroum.'

Q. 'Did you kill many Armenians generally?'

A. 'Yes. We did not wish to do so. We only want booty, not lives. Lives are of no use to us. But we had to drive bullets through people at times, to keep them quiet; that is, if they resisted.'

Q. 'Did you often use your daggers?'

A. 'No; generally our rifles. We must live. In autumn we manage to get as much corn as we need for the winter, and money besides. We have cattle, but we take no care of it. *We give it to the Armenians to look after and feed.*'

Q. 'But if they refuse?'

A. 'Well, we burn their hay, their corn, their houses, and we drive off their sheep, so they do not refuse. We take back our cattle in spring, and the Armenians must return the same number that they received.'

Q. 'But if cattle disease should carry them off?'

A. 'That is the *Armenians'* affair. They must return us what we gave them, or an equal number. And they know it. We cannot bear the loss. Why should not they? Nearly all our sheep come from them.'

After having listened to scores of stories of his

<sup>1</sup> The Kurds are divided into *Torens* or nobles, who lead in war time, and possess and enjoy in peace; and *Rayahs*, who sacrifice their lives for their lords in all raids and feuds, and are wholly dependent on them at all times. A *rayah's* life may be taken by a *toren* with almost the same impunity as a Christian's.

expeditions, murders, rapes, etc. etc., I again asked: 'Can you tell me some more of your daring deeds, Mostigo, for the ears of the Twelve Powers?' to which I received this characteristic reply:

'Once the wolf was asked: Tell us something about the sheep you devoured? and he said: I ate thousands of sheep, which of them are you talking about? Even so it is with my deeds. If I spoke and you wrote for two days, much would still remain untold.'

This brigand is a Kurd, and the name of the Kurds is legion. *Ex uno disce omnes.* And yet the Kurds have shown themselves to be the most humane of all the persecutors of the Armenians. Needing money, this man robbed; desirous of pleasure, he dishonoured women and girls; defending his booty, he killed men and women, and during it all he felt absolutely certain of impunity, so long as his victims were Armenians. Is there no law then? one is tempted to ask. There is, and a very good law for that corner of the globe were it only administered; for the moment he robbed the imperial post and dishonoured a Turkish woman, he was found worthy of death.

Laws, reforms, and constitutions therefore, were they drawn up by the wisest and most experienced legislators and statesmen of the world, will not be worth the paper they are written on so long as the Turks are allowed to administer them without control. The proof is contained in the life and acts of Turkish officials any time during the past fifty years.



Here, for example, is an honourable record of an energetic administrator, his Excellency Hussein Pasha, Brigadier-General of his majesty the Sultan, which will bear the closest scrutiny. Commanding a gang of Kurdish brigands, which could be increased to about 2000 men, he continually harassed the peaceful inhabitants of the province, plundering, torturing, violating, killing, till his name alone sent a thrill of terror to the hearts of all. The Armenians of Patnotz suffered so much from his depredations that they all quitted their village *en masse* and migrated to Karakilisse, where the Kaimakam resides; whereupon Hussein surrounded the house of the Bishop of Karakilisse with a large force and compelled him to send the people back. Even the Mohammedans felt so shocked at his doings, that the Mussulman priest of Patnotz, Sheikh Nari, complained of him to the Vali (Governor-General) of Erzeroum. Hussein then sent his men, who murdered Sheikh Nari and frightened his daughter-in-law to death. In one expedition he carried off 2600 sheep, many horses, kine, etc., took £500, burnt nine villages, killed ten men, and cut off the right hands, noses, and ears of eleven others. Early in the year 1890 he raped five Christian girls of Patnotz, and in September and October of the same year he levied a contribution of £300 on the people of the same district. *For none of these crimes was he ever tried.* In December 1890 he sent his brother to raise more money, which was done by raiding twenty-one villages of the Aintab District, the net result being £350 and 200 *batmans* of

butter (= 3000 lbs.). Hatsho, an Armenian of Patnotz, who could not, or would not, contribute a certain sum to his coffer, had his house raided in his absence, and his wife and two children killed. All this time the gallant Hussein occupied the post and 'discharged the duties' of a mudir or deputy sub-governor. One day he drove off 1000 sheep and seven yoke of buffaloes from Patnotz and Kizilkoh, and sold them in Erzeroum to a merchant, after which he confiscated a fine horse belonging to Manook, an Armenian of Kizilkoh, and sent it as a present to the son of an Erzeroum judge. One night towards the end of February, 1890, Hussein, his nephew Rassoul, and others, entered the house of an Armenian, Kaspar, for the purpose of carrying off Kaspar's handsome daughter-in-law. The inmates, however, shouted for help, whereupon Hussein, raising his revolver, shot the young woman dead. A petition was presented asking that he be punished, but the Vali of Erzeroum declined to receive it, and Hussein was summoned to Constantinople, welcomed with cordiality, decorated by his Majesty, raised to the rank of pasha, and appointed brigadier-general. When the troops went to Moush and Sassoun last year, Hussein was one of the heroes, and when 'order' was restored there, he returned to Patnotz with several young Sassounian girls whom he abducted, and he now lives happy and respected. No doubt there are missions which might be intrusted to a gentleman like Brigadier-General Hussein Pasha and men of his type. But is the government of

a Christian people one of them? And if we assume that the then Vali of Erzeroum and the other administrators of the country were men of a much higher moral standard than he, of what avail were their noble character and admirable intentions, seeing that they allowed him to plunder, ravish, burn and kill unchecked? And is it reasonable to blame Hussein Pasha for deeds, after the perpetration of which, he was honoured and promoted by the guardian of all law and order, the Commander of the Faithful?

Not all of the officials have the same tastes or the same degree of courage as his Excellency Hussein Pasha. There are others—many others no doubt—who, whatever their private proclivities may be, feel moved by their official sense of the fitness of things to cast about for a pretext for acts for which there could be no conceivable justification, and the follies which they commit in pursuit of this shadow would seem incredible were they not notorious. The following case has been inquired into and verified by the foreign representatives in Turkey. In the spring of 1893 Hassib Pasha, the governor of Moush, feeling the need of some proofs of the disaffection of the Armenians of Avzoot and the neighbouring villages, despatched Police Captain Reshid Effendi thither to search for arms. Reshid set out, made careful inquiries and diligently searched in the houses, on the roofs, under the ground, but in vain. There were no fire-arms anywhere. He returned and reported that the villagers had strictly observed the law forbidding them to possess weapons of any kind. But Hassib Pasha waxed wroth. 'How dare you

assert what I know to be untrue?' he asked. 'Go back this minute and find the arms. Don't dare return without them!' The Police Captain again rode off to Avzoot and searched every nook and corner with lamps, so to say, turning the houses inside out. But he found nothing. Then he summoned the village elder and said: 'I have been sent to discover the hidden arms here. Tell me where they are?' 'But there are none.' 'There must be some.' 'I assure you you are mistaken.' 'Well, now listen. I have to find arms here, whether there are any or none, and I cannot return without them. Unless you deliver me some, I shall quarter myself and my men upon your village.' This meant certainly plunder and probably rape. The elder was dismayed. 'What are we to do?' he asked: 'we have no arms.' 'Go and get some then, steal them, buy them, but get them.' Two or three persons were accordingly sent to the nearest Kurdish village, where they purchased three cart-loads of old daggers, flintlock guns, and rusty swords, which were duly handed over to Reshid. With these he returned to the governor of Moush exulting. Hassib Pasha, seeing the collection, rejoiced exceedingly and said: 'You see now, I was right. I told you there were arms hidden away there. You did not seek for them properly at first. Be more diligent in future.'

Verto Popakhian, an inhabitant of the village of Khalil Tshaush (Khnouss), narrated the following, the story of his troubles, which throws a curious sidelight on Turkish justice and Armenian peasant-life generally:

'A Kurd, named Djundee, endeavoured to carry off my niece, Nazo, but we took her to Erzeroum, and gave her in marriage to an Armenian. We often have to give our young girls in marriage when they are mere children, eleven to twelve years old, or else dress them up in boys' clothes, to preserve them undefiled. Nazo's husband was the son of the parish priest of Hertev. The Kurds vowed vengeance upon me for saving the girl thus. Djundee beat my brother so seriously that he was ill in bed for nearly six months, and he and his men drove off my cattle, burned our grain, threshing-floor, and hay, and ruined us completely. When the girl came home on a visit, Djundee and his Kurds attacked the house, and carried her off. We complained to all the authorities in the place and in Erzeroum too. By the time they agreed to examine the girl publicly, she had borne a child to the Kurd, and shame prevented her return. She remained a Mohammedan. We then bought a gun for our protection, the law forbidding fire-arms not existing yet. In 1893 we sold the gun to a Kurd named Hadji Daho, but in 1894 the police came and demanded it. We said we had sold it, and the Kurd bore out our assertion. He even showed it to them. But they arrested my brother and myself, and compelled us to give our two buffaloes in exchange for two guns, which they took away as incriminating proof of our guilt; and then they sent us to Erzeroum prison. We were kept here, suffering great hardships, for a long time. When eight months had passed away, my brother died of ill-treatment. Then they promised me my liberty in consideration of large bribes, which reduced me to absolute beggary. I had no choice. I gave them all they asked, leaving myself and family of nineteen persons completely destitute. *And then they condemned me to five years' imprisonment.*'

Justice in all its aspects is rigorously denied to the Armenian. The mere fact that he dares to invoke it as plaintiff or prosecutor against a Kurd or a Turk is always sufficient to metamorphose him into a defendant or a criminal, generally into both, whereupon he is invariably thrown into prison. In such cases the prison is intended to be no more than the half-way house between relative comfort and absolute misery, the inmates being destined to be stripped of all they possess and then turned adrift. But what the prison really is cannot be made sufficiently clear in words. If the old English Star-Chamber, the Spanish Inquisition, a Chinese opium den, the ward of a yellow-fever hospital, and a nook in the lowest depths of Dante's Hell be conceived as blended and merged into one, the resulting picture will somewhat resemble a bad Turkish prison. Filth, stench, disease, deformity, pain in forms and degrees inconceivable in Europe, constitute the physical characteristics: the psychological include the blank despair that is final, fiendish fierce malignity, hellish delight in human suffering, stoic self-sacrifice in the cultivation of loathsome vices, stark madness raging in the moral nature only—the whole incarnated in grotesque beings whose resemblance to man is a living blasphemy against the Deity. In these noisome dungeons, cries of exquisite suffering and shouts of unnatural delight continually commingle; ribald songs are sung to the accompaniment of heartrending groans; meanwhile the breath is passing away from bodies which had long before been soulless,



and are unwept save by the clammy walls whereon the vapour of unimagined agonies and foul disease condenses into big drops and runs down in dribblets to the reeking ground. Truly it is a horrid nightmare quickened into life.

Last March I despatched a friend of mine to visit the political prisoners in the Bitlis penitentiary, and to ask them to give me a succinct account of their condition. Four of them replied in a joint letter, which is certainly the most gruesome piece of reading I have beheld ever since I first perused a description of the Black Hole. Only the least sensational passages can be stripped of the decent disguise of a foreign language and exposed to the light of day. It is dated 'Bitlis Prison, Hell, March 28 (April 9th), 1895,' and begins thus :

'In Bitlis prison there are seven cells, each one capable of containing from ten to twelve persons. The number they actually contain is from twenty to thirty. *There are no sanitary arrangements whatever.* Offal, vermin, and the filth that should find a special place elsewhere are heaped together in the same cell. . . . The water is undrinkable. Frequently the Armenian prisoners are forced to drink 'khwiltsh' water—*i.e.* water from the tank in which the Mohammedans perform their ablutions. . . .'

Then follows a brief but suggestive account of the treatment endured by the writers' comrades, many of whom died from the effects. For example: 'Malkhass Aghadjanian and Serop Malkhassian of Avzoot (Moush) were beaten till

they lost consciousness. The former was branded in eight places, the latter in twelve places, with a hot iron.' The further outrage which was committed upon Serop must be nameless. 'Hagop Seropian, of the village of Avzoot, was stripped and beaten till he lost consciousness; then a girdle was thrown round his neck, and having been dragged into the zaptieh's room, he was branded in sixteen parts of his body with red-hot ramrods.' Having described other sufferings to which he was subjected, such as the plucking out of his hair, standing motionless in one place without food or drink till nature could hold out no longer, the writer goes on to mention outrages for which the English tongue has no name, and civilised people no ears. Then he continues :

'Sirko Minassian, Garabed Malkhassian, and Isro Ardvadzadoorian of the same village, having been violently beaten, were forced to remain in a standing position for a long time, and then had the contents of certain vessels poured upon their heads. Korki Mardoyan, of the village of Semol, was violently beaten; his hair was plucked out by the roots, and he was forced to stand motionless for twenty-four hours. Then Moolazim Hadji Ali and the gaoler, Abdoolkadir, forced him to perform the so-called *Sheitantly*,<sup>1</sup> which resulted in his death. He was forty-five years of age. Mekhitar Saforian and Khatsho Baloyan of Kakarloo (Boolanyk) were subjected to the same treatment. Mekhitar was but fifteen and Khatsho only thirteen years old.

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'devil's ring.' The hands are tightly bound together, and the feet, tied together by the great toes, are forced up over the hands. The remainder of the *Sheitantly* consists of a severe torture and a beastly crime.

Sogho Sharoyan, of Alvarindj (Moush), was conveyed from Moush to Bitlis prison handcuffed. Here he was cruelly beaten, and forced to maintain a standing position without food. Whenever he fainted they revived him with douches of cold water and stripes. They also plucked out his hair, and burned his body with red-hot irons. Then . . . (they subjected him to treatment which cannot be described) . . . Hambartsoon Boyadjian, after his arrest, was exposed to the scorching heat of the sun for three days. Then he was taken to Semol, where he and his companions were beaten and shut up in a church. They were not only not allowed to leave the church to relieve the wants of nature, but were forced to defile the baptismal fonts and the church altar. . . . Where are you, Christian Europe and America?'

The four signatures at the foot of this letter include that of a highly respected and God-fearing ecclesiastic.<sup>1</sup>

I am personally acquainted with scores of people who have passed through these prison mills. The stories they narrate of their experience there are gruesome, and would be hard to believe were they not amply confirmed by the still more eerie tales told by their broken spirits, their wasted bodies, and the deep scars and monstrous deformities that will abide with them till the grave or the vultures devour them. There is something so forbiddingly fantastic, and wildly grotesque in the tortures and outrages invented by their gaolers or their local governors that a simple unvarnished account of them sounds like

<sup>1</sup> As three of the writers are still in prison, prudence forbids me to publish their names, which are in the possession of our Foreign Office.

the ravings of a diseased devil. But this is a subject upon which it is impossible to be explicit.

The manner in which men qualify for the Turkish prison in Armenia can be easily deduced from what has already been said. The possession of money, cattle, corn, land, a wife or daughter, or enemies, is enough. We are shocked to read of the cruelty of brutal Kurds who ride to a village, attack the houses, drive off the sheep, seize all the portable property, dishonour the women, and return leisurely home, conscious of having done a good day's work. We call it a disgrace to civilisation, and perhaps the qualification is correct. But bad as it sounds, it is a mercy compared with the *Turkish* methods, which rely upon the machinery of the law and the horrors of the prison. A man whom poverty, nay, hunger, prevents from paying imaginary arrears of taxes, who declines to give up his cow or his buffalo as backsheesh to the zaptiehs, who beseeches them to spare the honour of his wife or his daughter, is thrown into one of these dungeons, which he never leaves until he has been branded with the indelible stigma of the place. But let us take one of the usual and by no means most revolting cases of arrest and imprisonment as an illustration.

A young man from the village of Avzood (Moush District) went to Russia in search of work, and found it. He also married, and lived there for several years. Towards the close of 1892 he came back to his native village, and the police, informed that 'an Armenian who has

lived in Russia is returned,' despatched four of their number under the orders of Isaag Tshaush to Avzood. They arrived two hours after sundown, and while three of them guarded the house where the young man was staying, the leader entered. Shots were heard immediately after, and the young Armenian and Isaag lay dead. The authorities in Bitlis then sent a colonel of the zaptiehs to Avzood to see 'justice' done. And it was done very speedily. The colonel summoned the men of the village—none of whom were mixed up in the matter—and put them in prison. Then the officials deflowered all the girls, and dishonoured all the young women in Avzood, after which they liberated the men, except about twenty, whom they conveyed to the gaol of Bitlis. A few of these died there, and ten others were soon afterwards dismissed. Finally they decided to charge a young teacher, Markar, of the village of Vartenis with the murder of Isaag Tshaush, and as there was no evidence against him, the other prisoners were ordered to testify. Armenians have the reputation of being liars, but they certainly draw the line at swearing away an innocent man's life; and they refused in this case to commit the double crime of perjury and murder. Strenuous efforts were made to determine them; they were stripped naked, burned in various parts of the body with red-hot irons, till they yelled with pain. Then they were prevented from sleeping for several nights, and tortured acutely again, till writhing and quivering, they promised to swear

anything, everything if once relieved from their agony. A document declaring that Markar was in the village when Isaag Tshaush arrived there, and that he had shot Isaag in their presence, was drawn up in their names. To this they duly affixed their seals. Meanwhile Markar himself was being tortured in another part of the prison.

When the trial came on and the incriminating document was read, the signatories stripped themselves in court, exhibited the ugly marks left by the red-hot irons, and called God to witness that that evidence of theirs, wrung from them by maddening torture, was a lie. Markar, on the other hand, declared that he was not in Avzood village at all on the night in question. But these statements were unavailing; he was hanged last year, and the 'witnesses' condemned to various terms in fortified towns. Some of the women dishonoured by the zaptiehs died from the effects of the treatment to which they were subjected.

The gaolers grow rich on the money they wring from the inmates of the cells. The prison-keeper of Bitlis Prison, Abdoolkadir, a wretch who, God having presumably made him, may be called a man, earns enormous sums in this way. He lately spent £500 on his house, and two or three Turkish merchants are said to be doing business on his capital, although his salary is only about 50s. a month. These sums are received as bribes not for any positive return made to the prisoners, but for mere relief from torture employed solely for this purpose. The following case may give some idea of the nature of the relief thus

highly paid for. Some five months ago three men of the village of Krtabaz were arrested and imprisoned.<sup>1</sup> The fact that they were released without trial ten weeks later is evidence enough of their innocence of crime. They were taken to the prison of Hassankaleh. The room in which they were confined was overcrowded. The term overcrowding does not connote the same thing in Armenia as in European prisons. *They had no room to lie down at all.* Some Kurdish prisoners confined in the same dismal den, who enjoyed special privileges, had but two and a half feet space to sleep in. In one corner of the dungeon a hole in the wall represented the prison-equivalent of sanitation, and these three Armenians were told that they must stand up by this hole, and might lean against the wall to sleep. *This they did for fifteen consecutive nights.* The stench, the filth, the vermin exceed all conception. After the lapse of fifteen days, by dint of starving themselves, they were enabled to give part of their food to some of the Kurds, one of whom allowed the Armenians to take his place in turn during the day. This was not much, for the Kurds themselves had only sitting space, about two and a half feet long; still it did afford relief. But the Kurd was severely punished for this benevolence or enterprise. His rations of bread were cut off, and he was put in irons for several days. The men he thus befriended, who now aver they owe their lives to him, were notables of their village, and innocent persons to

<sup>1</sup> Their names are Vehret, Mardiross Der Kasparian, and Goolbeg.

boot, who were released some weeks later because 'they had done no wrong.'

And yet the Turk, we are told, is a true gentleman, while the Armenians are lying thieves. Seeing how much depends upon definitions, there may perhaps be a sense in which that is true. But even a gentleman is expected to kill his useless cats and dogs in a humane way, and should not an Oriental gentleman be asked to slaughter his Armenians without torture? Would it not be a humane act on the part of our late Liberal Government had it arranged at least for the painless destruction of Armenian men, women, and children? Chloroform, prussic acid, or electricity would surely be an improvement upon *Sheitantly*, the standing box, and red-hot ramrods, and the Armenians or their friends would then have something to thank us for. The idea is not perhaps thoroughly Christian, but surely it is relatively humane. Whatever we may think of the suggestion in theory, few men would hesitate in practice to give their sisters, wives and sons the chance of putting an end to their sufferings, were they in the position of the Armenians.

'The Armenians could help themselves if they really wished,' I lately heard an Englishman say, with a serious and convinced air; 'they have only to turn Mohammedans. Surely God would not punish them for that.' It is certainly true that the moment they embraced Islam their troubles would cease, and that now, though martyrs by suffering, deprived of the palm, they

are but contemptible 'criminals' in name. Many of those whose flesh was weak, however willing may have been the spirit, did renounce their faith, and others are preparing to do likewise. Some of those with whom I conversed asked me whether I would advise them to save their families from dishonour and death by proclaiming that God is one and Mohammed is his prophet. I replied by expressing a hope, which I but partially entertained, that Christian Europe would come to their aid in good time and relieve them of the necessity of deciding between such painful alternatives. One thing is certain; if they embrace Islam, they must do it seriously and for good. There can be no recanting later on, as violent death in its most hideous forms would be the certain penalty. The following story is calculated to bring out in strong relief the temptation which the Armenians have to give up their faith. The narrative will be found interesting on other grounds besides.

Melik Agha was a notable and noble Armenian of the village of Abri (Boolanyk District), blessed with sons and grandsons, cattle, sheep, land, corn and hay in abundance—a sort of Armenian Job on a small scale. A noble Mohammedan of the same village, Kiamil Sheikh by name, envying his riches, desired to draw them to himself, and failing that, to destroy them and their owner. Last autumn for this purpose he had Melik's hay, corn, etc., burned to ashes. Then the sheikh's men came and took away five of his horses and killed one hundred and fifty of his sheep, leaving

their carcases to rot where they fell. This was wanton waste in a country where people are continually poor and frequently hungry. Melik therefore went to Kop where the Kaimakan resides and invoked the strong arm of the law. While he was in Kop complaining, and his sons were away on business, the sheikh's people, ever on the watch, dropped into his house, murdered the two children of Melik's eldest son and abducted their mother, who was very far gone with child. Melik Agha, hearing of this calamity, set out for Erzeroum to lay the matter before the chief authorities of the Vilayet. The upshot of his application was that Selim Pasha was deputed to inquire into the business and to get the woman back—the children, of course, could not be resuscitated nor could their murderer be punished. The captor refused to deliver up the young woman, saying, 'She will publicly declare that she embraces Islam.' Then the Pasha, turning to Melik, asked: 'What will you say or do if your daughter-in-law does publicly affirm that she becomes a Mohammedan?'

'I shall say that we too will become Mohammedans rather than allow our wives and daughters to pass into other hands.' Then the woman was fetched, but seeing her surrounded by sheikhs, and afraid of speaking the truth, Melik said to the pasha: 'She is ill. In a few days she will become a mother. Give her peace until then, and meanwhile send her to any Turkish house you like in Erzeroum. In a fortnight we shall hear what she has to say.' To this all agreed,

and the pasha departed. Three days later the woman's husband (Melik's eldest son) was killed by Kiamil's people in broad daylight. Even the Turkish family in which the woman lived were horrified, and requested the sheikhs to come and take her away, as they refused to have anything more to do with the business.

Soon after this, Melik's second son, Mgirdeetch, shot two of the sheikhs in the field. It was a very wrong and un-Christian thing to do, and cases of the kind give correct people in Europe a pretext for complaining of the vindictiveness of the Armenians. What he should have done, we know, was to entertain the sheikhs at dinner, or at least to let them pass on in peace.

However this may be, Mgirdeetch and his younger brother, feeling that they and their relatives were doomed, ran into the house of Mussah Bey and proclaimed themselves Mohammedans. Then they sent a messenger to their father informing him of what they had done and exhorting him to go and do likewise. And he did. A Mullah was appointed to teach the newly converted family the doctrines and worship of Islam, and as fate would have it, the Mullah in question was a man who had been Melik's faithful servant for many long years, and was far more disposed to become a Christian than his former master was to recognise the teachings of the Koran. Melik having discussed his plans with this friendly Mullah, sent his widowed daughter with a grown-up girl and three boys to Russia. When they drew near to the frontier, at Gara-

Ghedook, the Kurds attacked them and strove to obtain possession of the girl. But she held her mother's hand and refused to be delivered up to the lusts of these savages. Then the Kurds shot her dead. Her mother took the body on her back, and carried it to the village Ghairavank, about three miles from Kaghziman, where it was buried by Father Raphael. After some time Melik himself and the other members of his family escaped to Russia, leaving behind his house, lands, hay, corn, cattle, etc., and taking only a little money, of which the Kurds robbed him on the road. He was thankful to God for having allowed him to get across the frontiers with his life.

And the feeling is fast growing among Armenians that this is the only favour, human or divine, for which they will ever be called upon to feel grateful.

It is no easy thing for an Armenian man to cross the frontier and enter Russia, if he possess a gold or silver coin or an article of clothing; nor for a woman to leave the country without first undergoing indignities the mere mention of which should make a man's blood boil with shame and indignation. 'Oh, but these things are not felt so acutely by Armenians as they would be by Europeans,' said an English lady to me a few days ago: 'the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb, don't you know?' It may be so: but I have seen and conversed with hundreds and hundreds of Armenian women lately, and I found no signs of the tempering process. Whatever vices or virtues may be predicated of Armenian women,



chastity must be numbered among their essential characteristics. They carry it to an incredible extreme. In many places an Armenian woman never even speaks to any man but her husband, unless the latter is present. Even to her nearest and dearest male relatives and connections she has nothing to say; and her purity, in the slums of Erzeroum as in the valleys of Sassoun, is above suspicion. Yet these are the people who are being continually outraged by brutal Kurds and beastly Turks, oftentimes until death releases them. But the difficulty of emigrating from Turkey, with money, clothing, or women, will be best understood in the light of a few concrete examples. Not that the Turks object to their leaving. On the contrary—and this is the most conclusive proof of the existence of the Plan of Extermination—they actually drive them over the frontier and then persistently refuse to allow them to return.

Sahag Garoyan, questioned as to the reasons why he and his family of ten persons emigrated from his village of Kheter (Sandjak of Bayazid), deposed as follows:

'We could not remain because we were treated as beasts of burden by Rezekam Bey, son of Djaffar Agha, and his men, who belong to his Majesty's Hamidieh corps, and can therefore neither be punished nor complained of. I emigrated towards the end of last year. Rezekam had come with his followers, as if it were war time, and taken possession of the houses of the Armenians, driving the occupants away. Only seven families were allowed to stay on. The others having

no place to go to, took refuge in the church. We had to feed the Kurds for three months, giving them our corn, sheep, etc., and keeping their cattle in fodder. We had to serve some of them as beasts of burden. Rezekam himself paid a weekly visit to the village of Karakilisse, and levied a contribution of £10 Turkish on the inhabitants, besides hay, barley, etc., for his men. At last, unable to bear this burden any longer, we addressed a complaint to the authorities. They told us to be gone. Then a Kurd, named Ghazaz Teamer, ordered us to sign a document setting forth that we were prosperous and happy. This was to be sent to Constantinople, as he wished to be appointed Yoozbashi of the Hamidiehs. No one signed the paper, whereat Teamer grew angry, and killed Avaki and his brother. Five months later he killed Minass, son of Kre, of the village of Mankassar. When the winter came on last year, Rezekam Bey imprisoned our neighbour Sarkiss, son of Sahag had his head plunged in cold water and dried; after that it was steeped in petroleum and his hair burned off. Then he endeavoured to violate Sara, Sarkiss's sister, but she was smuggled away in time. Rezekam's servant, Kheto, dishonoured Moorad's wife; and a few days later entered the house of Abraham, an inhabitant of the same village, commanding him to go and work for Rezekam Bey. Abraham's wife, who was about to become a mother, begged that he might be allowed to stay at home; but Kheto kicked her in the stomach, and she was delivered of a dead child an hour or so after. Oh, we could not live there—not if we were beasts, instead of Christians.'

Mgirdetch Mekhoyan, aged thirty-five, of the village of Koopegheran (Sandjak of Bayazid),

deposed: 'I emigrated in 1894 because Aipa Pasha came with forty Kurdish families, demolished our church, and took everything we had.' The same story, with variations, comes from every Sandjak, almost from every village, of the five Armenian provinces. Bedross Kozdyan, aged fifty-five, of the village of Arog (Sandjak of Van), testified:

'I left my village and my country with my family in August last year (1894), because we were driven away by the Kurds under Tri, son of Tshalo, who was abetted by the Turkish authorities. He first came and violated three girls and three young married women, whom he took away in spite of their cries and prayers. Three Armenians tried to protect the wretched women, who implored them not to let them go. But the Kurds killed the three on the spot. Their names were Sarkiss, Khatsho, and Keveark. Next day he and his men drove off the sheep of the villagers. We complained to the governor of Van, but he said he could not move in the matter. Ten days later the Kurds came again, and carried away our wheat, barley, and live stock, and burned the hay which they could not transport. Then they knocked down the altar of our church, hoping to find gold and silver hidden away there. We again besought the authorities to protect us, but they replied, "We'll slaughter you like sheep if you dare to come again with your complaints against good Mohammedans." Then we took what we could with us and set out for Russia. When we reached Sinak six armed Kurds attacked us, robbed us of everything we had, and sent us over the frontier with nothing but our clothes.'

Sarkiss Mardirossian, of the village of Utch-kilisse (Sandjak of Alashkerd), said:

'I emigrated with my family of five persons because I could not live there. The Kurds came and burnt all my hay, etc., and being very well off I had a large quantity. Then they drove off the one hundred cows belonging to us villagers, fifty oxen and three hundred sheep. We could no longer pay the taxes and, fearing tortures from the zaptiehs and also hunger, we had to go. In Kiatoog we were stripped of everything we had by the Kurds and sent over the frontiers.'

Khatsho Garabedian, of the village of Kia-voormi (Sandjak of Khnouss), declared:

'I am forty-five years of age. The reason I left with my family was because the Turkish authorities allowed the Kurds under Heasso to strip me of nearly everything I possessed, and then the Turkish zaptiehs came and demanded the taxes, which I had no means of paying. The chief of these zaptiehs then said: "You have no money, but you have a pretty wife. Lend her to me and I will give you a receipt for the taxes." I contrived to have my wife taken to another house, and when the Turkish official saw that he could not dishonour her, he punished me. First, cold water was poured over me, then dung and other filth was rubbed into my face, and a strap thrown round my neck. In this way I was dragged through the village. On my return they took my ox, the only possession that was still left me, and had it not been for that ox they would have taken my life. I then fled with my family, and we had only two Turkish pounds in money among us. The soldiers, however, stopped us and made us deliver up that, and we entered Russia as poor as the day we were born.'

The Plan of Extermination is obviously work-



ing smoothly and well. The Christian population is decimated, villages are changing hands almost as quickly as the scenes shift in a comic opera, and the exodus to Russia and the processions to the churchyard are increasing. This is not the place to give a list of *islamised* villages, but a typical case may help to convey an idea of the process that is going on even now.

In the Vilayet of Bitlis (Caza of Boolanyk and Sandjak of Moush) there is a village named Kadjloo, which, being interpreted, means 'Village of the Cross.' It is a village of the Crescent now. The means by which the sudden change was effected are identical in character with those already described. Mohammed Emin led a number of Kurds (outcasts from the Djibranlee and Hassnanlee tribes) against the village, took it, so to say, by storm, and, to use their own picturesque expression, 'sat down in it.' Happily it is situated only five miles distant from the seat of the Turkish deputy-governor, but, unhappily for the people, he refused to move a finger, and they were all driven off like sheep. Perhaps this is one of the cases in which the wind is tempered to the shorn sheep?

Then the conquerors set about raiding the neighbouring villages, and in particular Piran, which is about a mile farther off. These would likewise have changed hands had it not been for a bright idea of one of the chief villagers, at whose suggestion a Kurd named Assad Agha was invited to come and quarter his men in Piran, *accepting for himself twenty cornfields, ten meadows,*

and a spacious two-story house, which was built expressly for him by an architect from Bitlis, in return for which he undertook to protect the Armenians from Mohammed Emin and his merry men.

Three hundred and six of the principal inhabitants of the District of Khnouss gave me a signed petition when I was leaving Armenia, and requested me to lay it before 'the humane and noble people of England.' In this document they truly say:

'We now solemnly assure you that the butchery of Sassoun is but a drop in the ocean of Armenian blood shed gradually and silently all over the Empire since the late Turko-Russian war. Year by year, month by month, day by day, innocent men, women and children have been shot down, stabbed, or clubbed to death in their houses and their fields, tortured in strange fiendish ways in fetid prison cells, or left to rot in exile under the scorching sun of Arabia. During the progress of that long and horrible tragedy no voice was raised for mercy, no hand extended to help us. That process is still going on, but it has already entered upon its final phases, and the Armenian people are at the last gasp. Is European sympathy destined to take the form of a cross upon our graves?'

I have also received two touching appeals from the women of Armenia, sealed with their seals, and addressed to their sisters of England. What *they* ask is indeed little—that they be protected from dishonour. And, until the General Elections gave us a strong government, which knows its

own mind, it seemed as if these women were asking for the moon.

English people have not even a remote notion of the extent to which young married women and girls are outraged all over Armenia by Turkish soldiers, imperial zaptiehs, Kurdish officers and brigands; and outraged with such accompaniments of nameless brutality that their agonies often culminate in a horrible death. Girls of eleven and twelve—nay, of nine—are torn from their families and outraged in this way by a band of 'men' whose names are known, and whose deeds are approved by the representatives of law and order. Indeed, these representatives are themselves the monsters, the bestial poison of whose loathsome passion is destroying 'the subtle, pure, and innocent spirit of life.'

Rape, violation, outrages that have no name, and whose authors should have no mercy, are become the commonplaces of daily life in Armenia. And the Turkish 'gentleman' smiles approval. I have myself collected over three hundred of these cases, and I have heard of countless others.

The following case is one in which I took a very lively interest because I am well acquainted with the victim and her family. Her name is Lucine Mussegh, her native village Khnoossaberd. Born in 1878, Lucine was sent at an early age to the Armenian Missionary school at Erzeroum, where she was taught the doctrines of evangelical Christianity, her father, Aghadjan Kemalian, having always manifested a strong sympathy for

Protestantism. Armenian girls are in chronic danger of being raped by Turks and Kurds, and Armenian parents are continually scheming for the purpose of shielding them from this calamity, which, as we have seen, occasionally results in death. The means usually employed are very early marriages or attempts to pass off the girls as boys. I have known children to be taken from school, married, allowed to live a few months with their husbands or wives, and then sent back to school again. This is what happened to Lucine, who, taken from school at the age of fourteen, was wedded to a boy of her own age, Milikean by name, and having lived some time with him under his father's roof, was sent to the Protestant School once more. One night, during her husband's absence from home, she was seized by some men, dragged by the hair, gagged, and taken to the house of Hussni Bey. *This man is the son of the deputy-governor of the place.* He dishonoured the young woman and sent her home next day, but her husband refused to receive her any more, and she is now friendless and alone in the world.

Lucine's father presented a complaint to the colonel of the Hamidiehs, and a petition to the parish priest. The Metropolitan Archbishop of Erzeroum likewise took the matter in hand, and appealed to the governor-general of the Vilayet, and to the court of Khnoouss. But all to no purpose. Lucine is now a pariah.

I have also received a piteous appeal to the women of England from some hundreds of

Armenian women of the District of Khnouss, begging as an inestimable favour to be shielded from the brutal treatment to which they are all subjected. It is needless to publish it here. Written appeals are seldom very forcible. If the reader had seen the wretched women themselves, as I saw them, and heard them tell their gruesome tales in the simplest of words, punctuated by sobs and groans, emphasised by misery and squalor, they would be in a condition to form some idea of the state of things in Armenia, which in the good old times of theocracy would have brought down consuming fire from heaven. In the village of Begli Akhmed, for example, I met a woman of about twenty-eight, clothed in ragged pieces of dirty carpets, with a pale emaciated boy of twelve, suffering from a terrible cough, who looked like a typhus patient aged only six or seven. I asked her to tell her story, and this is what she said :—

‘My name is Atlass Manookian; I come from the village of Khrt (Khnouss District). We were very well off, but the Kurds took away everything we had. Everything, Effendi; still my poor husband worked for me and the child here, though they told us to go. One day when I was bringing bread to my husband in the field, they struck me on the head and dishonoured me. That was in the daytime. . . .’

‘It was at noon, mother, when father used to eat his bread, that they did that to you,’ broke in the ghost of a child. I never in my life

witnessed anything more horrible than the sight of those two friendless, hopeless wretches as they stood there trembling in the cold, the dying child thus simply bearing witness that his mother was dishonoured in the fields by a number of neighbouring Kurds.<sup>1</sup> She then went on: ‘I complained to the head officer, Sheikh Moorad, but the Bimbashi beat me cruelly about the head and back, and knocked me down. Then, last spring, when my husband was sowing corn, Ali Mahmed came up and killed him.’ ‘With an axe, mother,’ said the boy. ‘We are now alone in the world, wandering and begging, and nobody knows us,’ said the woman. Having given her some coins, I hurried away, vainly striving to shake off the horrible impression which clung to me, like a hideous ghost, for weeks afterwards.

The massacre of Sassoun sends a shudder to the hearts of the most callous. But that butchery was a divine mercy compared with the hellish deeds that are being done every week and every day of the year. The piteous moans of famishing children; the groans of old men who have lived to see what can never be embodied in words; the piercing cries of violated maidenhood, nay, of tender childhood; the shrieks of mothers made childless by crimes compared with which murder would be a blessing; the screams, scarcely human, of women writhing under the lash; and all the vain voices of blood and agony that die away in

<sup>1</sup> I possess the photograph of the wretched woman.

that dreary desert without having found a responsive echo on earth or in heaven, combine to throw Sassoun and all its horrors into the shade.

Such are the things for which we are morally responsible.

#### IV. A LIST OF CRIMES

**STATISTICAL** summary of cases of profanation of churches, murder of priests, enforced conversions, ill-treatment of women and young girls which took place in eleven vilayets during the Armenian disturbances, from reports of eye-witnesses.

##### I. VILAYET TREBIZOND

After the massacre in Trebizond of October 4-10 the surrounding villages endured the saddest fate. The churches of thirteen villages, Veranas, Anifa, Grobi-Abion, Surmene, Gadra, Zefanos, Sifder, Gromela, Sgavidass, Mayera, Altchakdere, and Makhtilla were plundered and ruined, and six priests murdered. The Gregorians of Altchakdere, Makhtilla, Gromela and Kertanatz were compelled to turn to Islam and innumerable women were outraged.

##### 2. VILAYET ERZEROUM

1. During the Erzeroum massacre, which occurred between October 18 and 31, the priest, Der Karekine, who supplied the services in one of the Armenian churches of the town, was killed in his house; his body has disappeared. Der Yeghia,

the priest of the Armenian church at Ternik, who was in Erzeroum on business, was killed in the government house along with eight other Armenians, with whom he had gone thither about a law-suit. In the country, the church of Topal-Tschavuch was first plundered and afterwards smeared with filth. The churches of Umdum and Kak were set on fire and their priests murdered. The village churches of Ternuk, Otzni and Garar were half destroyed; the church of Katschgavank monastery was plundered and its prior wounded.

2. In the district of Passen, after the plundering of the monastery, the prior, Archimandrite Dimotheon, and six of the brotherhood were murdered and the monastery was burned.

3. In the district of Terdjian, where the massacre was from the seventh to the tenth of October, all the Gregorian Armenians of the population who had escaped the sword of the murderers, including the priest Der Hussik, the *ad interim* Metropolitan, were compelled to adopt the Mohammedan religion. On the following day, preparations were made for wholesale initiation of the new proselytes.

4. In the town of Baiburt, at the time of the massacre of 12th October, the four churches of the place were plundered and desecrated. Khorene Guroyan, the Archimandrite, a venerable old man, was murdered, and Der Achot the *ad interim* Metropolitan was wounded. Several young girls were carried off and dragged by their captors to the home of the latter in the vilayet of Trebizond;

fourteen Armenian women with their infants were burnt alive in the conflagration. A woman was mutilated and her unborn infant cut to pieces. In the villages around Baiburt, the monasteries of Surp Krikor-Lussavoritsh, and Surp Krisdapor were plundered and desecrated and the pictures of the Saints torn in pieces. The village churches of Lessonk and Almeshga were first despoiled and then covered with filth. In Lessonk the Gospels were torn into a thousand pieces, thrown into the street, and trampled underfoot. In the village of Ksanta the priests Der Ohannes and Der Harutiun were murdered; the church was turned into a mosque, about four hundred persons were killed, and those who were spared, principally women, were compelled to adopt Islam. Both in Ksanta and in Lessonk more than one hundred women were mutilated. About fifty young women threw themselves into the wells, and thus met death, to escape dishonour. In six villages, Plur, Plurak, Buchdi, Surp Toross, Nik, and Balakhor the churches were turned into mosques and the priests killed. Three other priests have disappeared. The inhabitants of these villages, as also those of Varzahan, Karavirak, Tschakmak, Avereke, Gapus, Osdegh, Verine-Kerzi, and Varine-Kerzi, were compelled to adopt Islam. At Plur, after the Armenians had been made to apostatise to Islam they were shot down by the bands of Mohammedans under the pretext that if they remained alive they would yet in their hearts be devoted to Christianity. Turbans were put on the survivors' heads; they were led into their

own church, and there as in a mosque compelled to pronounce the namaz-prayer according to the Mohammedan worship.

In Baiburt and the whole neighbourhood the religion of the Cross has totally vanished.

5. In the district of Kighi the massacres took place on October 23rd; the priest Der Khatt, a venerable old man who conducted the service at the Armenian village of Hanksdum, was murdered, and the following twenty-two churches and two monasteries were plundered:—

1. Church of Saint Kevork, in village of Dének.
2. " " Asdradzadvine " Melikan.
3. " " Garabeth, " Shene.
4. " " Kevork, " Tscherman.
5. " " Amenaperguitsch,, Arinz.
6. " " Katt, " Hankadoun.
7. " " Khatsch, " Sakatzor.
8. " " Sarkis, " Sharouk.
9. " " Asdvadzadzin, " Ketzeltshoubouk.
10. " " Asdvadzadzin, " Tschifik.
11. " " Minass, " Tshan.
12. " " Sarkis, " Kerboz.
13. " " Asdvadzadzin, " Oror.
14. " " Ohannes, " Tscharibasch.
15. " " Nigoghoss, " Koschkar.
16. " " Asdvadzadzin, " Serguevill.
17. " " Minass, " Sekhank.
18. " " Surp Hagop, " Aboghnak.
19. " " Sarkiss, " Asdeghbert.
20. " " Sarkiss, " Aghpekhouk.
21. " " Asdvadzadzine, " Djebor.
22. " " Garabeth, " Khoupe.
23. Monastery of,, Garabeth, near Hanksdum.
- Giragoss, " Osnak.

6. During the massacre at Erzingjan on the 23rd October the eight monasteries of the diocese were plundered. The sanctuaries were destroyed, and the priest, Der Gevont, prior of the monastery of Tartscharanatz-Surp-Lussavovitsch, murdered along with an Armenian who had taken refuge in the monastery. The priests of the Armenian churches of Khentzorik and Karatasch and the two children of one of the priests were killed. In the village of Ressuan, the assailants beat down the church door, forced their way in, and killed thirty people who had fled into the church; among the victims were several women and children. In Meghvetzik those who survived the massacre were compelled to accept Islam and be circumcised. Two priests, Der-Kevork Yezegjelian, *ad interim* Metropolitan of Erzingjan, and Der Constantin Erhamdjan, who was holding the service in an Armenian church, were arrested along with about fifty Armenians, and are now languishing in the prison set apart for criminals and murderers, where they are suffering every kind of ill-treatment.

7. In the villages of Great and Little Armeden in the Kurudschay District, where the massacre took place October 16th and 17th, the church of Great Armeden was completely sacked; the priest, Der Hagop, was shot, while Der Krikoris, priest of the church at Little Armeden, were beheaded and another priest was wounded.

8. The Armenians of Dantzi were compelled to adopt Islam and circumcised by force.

## 3. VILAYET VAN

1. In the villages Tzakhogh, Dzogn, Dap, Khsokhtentz, Metshgantz, Mulk, Gidzi, Argentz, Kakht, belonging to the district of Lower Gargar, four priests were killed, and the inhabitants of these nine villages, with three priests, were compelled to adopt Islam. The churches and monasteries were robbed, set on fire, or destroyed.

2. In the district of Moko the monasteries of Surp Hagop and Garmerag were plundered. The priest of the Armenian church of Badagantz was killed. The Armenian population of the village Paykhner, Vark, Upper Sarine, Shandossene, Varentz, Pashavank, Padagantz, Deshokh, Atanan were obliged under fear of death to abjure their faith and assume that of Islam.

3. The Kurds have completely despoiled the monastery of Kara-Dere, in the district of Passen Tasht, while the inhabitants of the seven villages, Gag hazis, Schidan, Axeg, Gaynamiran, Komer, Darentz and Nar were by violence converted to Islam.

4. All the Armenian villages of the district of Schadak were plundered, their inhabitants compelled by threats of death to adopt Islam and undergo circumcision.

5. The monastery of Norduz in Hokhiaz district was completely plundered, and the inhabitants of the Armenian villages of the district compelled to adopt Islam to save their lives.

6. In the district of Havusor the four monasteries of Surp Asdvadzadzin Ankegh, S. Asdvadzadzin

Eremer, S. Asdvadzadzin Sarekh, and S. Kevork Kek were plundered, as well as the Armenian churches of the seventeen villages of Khosp, Kezel-Tash, Beltentz, Geghze, Asdvadzashene, Gem, Khorkhom, Kerel, Ischkamikom, Atanan, Kertz, Keuschk, S. Bardan, Ardamerd, Dzuesdan, Pertak and Gentanantz.

7. In the district of Gandjgan the following monasteries have been ruined and plundered:

S. Asdvadzadzin at Oran.

„ Thomas „ Neros.

„ George „ Kom.

Gentronitz.

S. Garabeth „ Sorp.

„ Asdvadzadzin „ Sempadaschen.

The tongue and the limbs of the prior of the monastery, abbot Breden, at Sorp, were cut off, and he was then subjected to the most horrible tortures. The Armenian inhabitants of Sembon, Usutz, Pigantz and several other villages, and the priest of the Armenian church at Sembon were forcibly converted to Islam. Several women were carried off.

8. In the district of Kavach, the following monasteries were despoiled and ruined:

1. The monastery S. Nichan Tschaharan.

2. „ „ Asdvadzadzin of Spidag.

3. „ „ Harutiu.

4. „ „ Thomas.

5. „ of Mokhrapert.

6. „ S. Sahak Lussabedugh.

7. „ Norkegh.



9. In the district of Adildjevoz the monastery of Skandschelakordz and the churches of the following sixteen villages were destroyed with the committal of every kind of profanation: Giatshuk, Upper Sipan, Lower Sipan, Aren, Arentshguiss, Güzel, Khorantz, Partagh, Ardjera, Kara-Keshieh, Vitschgatzruck, Ayketzor, Tziraklon, Pechna-Komer, Anushagpuhr and Norshene-Tschukha. In many places the Kurds, after putting on the vestments stolen from the churches, performed lewd dances, holding the cross, the Gospels, or the sacred chalice: they did this in these Armenian villages and in their own with the intention of rendering the Christian religion contemptible.

10. In the district of Adjesh the monasteries of the four villages, Artshonitz, Kmaper, Magdha, Medzope were plundered, and also the churches of the eight villages Gergiah, Gaydzak, Armekhon, Kantzak, Dilon, Bamon, Harutiun and Haspisnak.

11. The churches and monasteries of all the Armenian villages in the districts Akhpag, and Bargerd were destroyed.

12. In the district of Cimar the monasteries of Alur, S. Etschmiadzin of Ereren, and of Amgu plundered and destroyed besides the following eight villages and their churches.

#### 4. VILAYET BITLIS

1. Among the victims of the Bitlis massacres of October 1-15 are counted several priests, two of whom had come from the district Kuyd (from the Sandjak Moush), as well as children of five to

twelve years old, pupils of the school attached to the church of S. Serkias. A part of the corpses have disappeared, for they were burnt up with petroleum, and about eighty bodies, among them those of the priests of the church of Kuyd, were buried in the Mohammedan graveyard, because they were to be treated as bodies of Mohammedans. In this town, too, several cases of compulsory conversion took place. In Vank and Sassik, villages of the country around, a priest and some women were killed.

2. After the massacres which, between October 13th and 15th, took place in the Armenian villages of the district of Yerum, the churches were desecrated and then turned into mosques. Those persons who managed to escape death were compulsorily Islamised and circumcised. The priests had to wear turbans, their wives were married to Mohammedan Mullahs, and themselves compelled to marry the wives of the latter, after these had been divorced from their own husbands. There were also given to these priests one or two Kurdish wives, in order to fix and confirm their conversion by these religious ties. In families which numbered several brothers, one or two of these were killed that their wives might be married to the survivors, in accordance with the Mohammedan law which prescribes such unions.

3. In the district Chirvan, which contains more than twenty Christian villages, to mention only Saruss, Avin, Avar, Napaln, Sermek and Ternenk,

the Armenians who escaped the massacre were forced to accept Islam, along with their priests, the churches being in part destroyed, in part turned into mosques. The Mullahs actually now sit in these churches and utter with all authority the commandments of the Mohammedan religion. In this district several pregnant women were mutilated and their infants cut in pieces. Half the Gregorian population of the village of Kuri-man was destroyed, the other half compelled in a body to accept Islam and submit to circumcision. From the villages Gendz and Maden several women and young girls were violated, among them the wife of the priest of the Gregorian church at Gentzik.

4. The churches of Dachdob, Khark, Oh, Sak, Kark and Nel, villages of the district Guzel Dere, were plundered.

5. During the massacres in the districts Khizan and Spagerd, taking place in the month of October, the following seven monasteries were plundered :

1. S. Khatsh in Khizan.
2. " " Kamagiél.
3. " " Paratzor.
4. " Asdvadzadzin in Pezen.
5. " Giragossin Geghson.
6. " Kevork Chirine or Sgavarag.
7. " Asdvadzadzin in Sori.

Abbot Sahag, superior of the monastery of S. Khatsh, and the priest of the Gregorian church

in Brochentz were killed. Their skins were taken from the bodies, stuffed with straw, and hung upon trees. The prior of the monastery of Kamaghiel was also killed, so was the head of the monastery of S. Giragoss.

Abbot Ohannes, prior of the monastery of Sgavarag, was made to accept Islam and thereupon to marry two wives. Several Armenian inhabitants of Ghizan were forcibly dragged into the Jewish monastery of that place, and there compelled to accept Islam. Three priests in Khorkhotz were similarly converted and then led through the streets in turbans. The inhabitants of the eight villages of the district of Nahie Shenitzor were compelled to accept Islam ; the churches and schools were shut up and several women dragged off. The inhabitants of the following sixty villages were compelled by threats of death to adopt Islam :

District Ghizan : Darontz, Lower Darontz, Karasson, Upper Karasson, Shen, Kharith, Klupp, Taghik, Palassor-Khatshougontz, Dzigou, Antentz, Kamaghiel, S. Katsh of Ktizan, Di, Norshen, Yeghondz, Anabad, Broshentz-Tars, Mautentz, Mamtentz, Gassar, Hagir, Khorkloz, Nan, Hodzs, Gadinag, Bagsar, Li, Hudjuk.

District Spagerd : Upper Horuk, Lower Horuk, Djandjuan, Lower Godentz, Upper Godentz, Nerpan, Oghant, Sevkar, Paghentz, Suar, Tagh, Kaghiss, Dantizz, Sosson, Hargine, Talora, Badrantz, Husb, Khuth, Sort, Paght, Saghantz, Arentshik, Duaghs, Geran, Tasht Mad, Dzemen.

6. In the district of Upper Gargar the five

monasteries of S. Asdvadzadzin, Klentzorud, S. Yerashkavor, Dzegor and Sempad were plundered. Two priests of the church of Yeghekiss were killed. Abbot Sarkiss, superior of the monastery of Dzerkor, had his eyes put out. The priest of the village of Aless, and the inhabitants of the following ten villages were forced to accept Islam: Arshon, Tatzon, Yeghekiss, Pergri, Aless, Hardentz, Hugurtzu, Gor, Voritz, Khentzorud.

7. In the district of Mamrdok the churches were plundered and destroyed or turned into mosques; the majority of the Christian population forced to adopt Islam, that is to say, the inhabitants of the following seventeen villages: Ov, Segh, Perganto, Abarank, Kedantz, Huvendantz, Dnantz, Millhoti, Chenaghpour, Mont, Gughentz, Honiss, Horond, Paramonss, Hagonss, Garna, Bargantz.

The monastery of S. Khatsh of Abarank, S. Khatsh of Segh, and Deuruck were similarly turned into mosques.

8. In the town of Segherd, where the massacre took place from November 3rd to November 16th, the church, bishop's house, and school were broken into and plundered. The Archimandrite Theodorus, *ad interim* Metropolitan, was very severely wounded and his servant murdered. In the same town also, a priest was killed, and several women and young girls dishonoured. Part of the population found themselves obliged to accept Islam.

9. In the Sandjak of Moush, the church of the village of Kergerd was plundered. The Moham-

medans got possession of the vessels containing the sacred oil, and used this to clean their guns and swords. In the lonely valleys near Moush were found children of tender age who had lost trace of the families to which they belonged, and had been left behind, when the people fled to escape death. Several women of the villages of Kheybian and Adelponnar were dragged off.

10. The priest, Der Vartan of Bitlis, was killed near the village of Nazik (district of Akhlat).

11. The inhabitants of the villages of Gernos, Valer, Tarepnis, Duzmalan, Kubar, Shamsch, in the Gindj District, who had escaped the massacre, were forced to adopt Islam.

12. In the district of Djabagh-Tshur, all Christian inhabitants of the villages, Tshefflik, Madrik, Sinfor, Kochem, as well as Petshar, Titsh, Norhen, Murdarik, Anti, Mighuk, belonging to Nahi Petshar, were compulsorily converted, even their priests also. The churches of these villages actually now serve as mosques and in them the Koran is being taught. In these localities the religion of the Cross has ceased to exist.

#### 5. VILAYET SIVAS.

1. Unheard-of atrocities were committed in Sivas during the massacres, which there took place on November 2nd; the particulars are indescribable. A great number of those who had gone over to Islam under pressure were forcibly circumcised. More than twenty churches

were plundered in the surrounding villages. Der Astratzadur, Der Vosgi, Der Gronithes, priests of the church of Tuzassar, and seven others of the churches of Tetmadsh, Gazi Magaro, Karahadjel, Khorsana, Govdum, Ghangal and Gavra, and Der Retheos, priest of the church of Istanos, were killed.

2. During the massacres of Shabin Karahissar, which took place on October 28th, the policemen fired from the minarets of the mosques into the windows of the Armenian church, and by this means they succeeded in wounding some people who had fled into the church. Der Yeghia, priest of the church of S. Pergitsh, was killed because he had conducted the burial services of the victims of the massacre.

3. During the massacres in the village of Abana, which took place October 24th, the Armenian women and girls who had sought safety in the neighbouring Greek villages were there most shamefully ill-treated by Turks, and many of them dragged off. During the massacres of October 27th, 28th, in the little town of Tamzara, the church of S. Fakavor and the monastery of S. Kevork were plundered and cleared of the whole of the articles used in the worship. The altars were wrecked and the pictures of the saints covered with mud. The venerable priest, Der Krikor, of advanced age, and the young priest, Kude, only lately ordained, were led in front of the mosque and beheaded with axes. Two teachers in the school were killed after they had been compelled to repeat

the namaz-prayer. All the school children of the place were massacred and the girls dishonoured. About thirty children besides were distributed among the rioters to be by force made Mohammedans. As for the neighbouring villages, the church and school in Purk were set on fire; the priest, Der Aharon, and those of the churches at Aghranis, Sis, and Anerghi were killed. In Busseyid, Der Mattheos, the priest, was beheaded. His head, as a sign of the deepest disgrace, was put between his thighs, and the young Turks of the place amused themselves by flogging his corpse in order to show their contempt for the servant of Christ.

In the massacres at the villages Anerghi and Busseyid on October 29th, children of tender age were killed on their mothers' laps, the monastery of Arakelotz near Sis was plundered.

4. In the district Lu Schehri, on October 29th, the church of the little town Indises, where old men, women and children had taken refuge, was set on fire and all these unhappy people perished in the flames. The Armenian school of the place was likewise burned.

5. The inhabitants of the village of Kul Hissar were brought over to Islam under threats of sword and fire; the Armenian girls were forced to marry Turks.

6. In the massacre at Divrik on November 16th, the churches of S. Asdvadzadzin and Yerortutium were plundered and the altars destroyed. The oil of consecration was poured on the ground

and contemptuously trampled underfoot. The bishop's house and the Protestant church were set on fire. Rev. Bedros the Protestant pastor was killed.

The Armenian school was turned into a barracks for the soldiers, and several young women and girls were outraged. The Armenian population of the town and country were compelled to accept Islam, and all who would not abjure their faith were killed.

With regard to the villages, at Gurassin the priests Der Sarkis and Der Milael were killed, also the priest of the church at Armudagh, and the monastery of S. Hagob was reduced to a heap of ruins. At Zimara and Gasma the churches were partly destroyed; several were turned into mosques; the Sacrament was trodden underfoot; and six hundred and fifty-five persons in the vicinity of Gasma were compelled to become Moslems. The men had turbans put on them, and were compelled to go five times a day to the namaz-prayer at the mosque. One Armenian, Krikor Balian, having died, he was buried in the Mohammedan graveyard, as if he belonged to Islam. Under threat of a massacre the inhabitants of Gurassin and Apuchan were by force converted to Islam, likewise those of Zimara and their priest.

7. In the course of the massacre in the villages of Darende and Ashodi (district of Darende) on October 25th, churches, schools and a neighbouring monastery were set on fire. Among the victims were Bishop Izaak and a priest of the church at Aschodi. Several women were revoltingly out-

aged. In Zileh, during the massacre of November 28th, two priests, Der Arisdakes and Der Megherditsh, were killed because they refused to become Mohammedans. The former was previously blinded, the latter was skinned.

8. The Kurds of Azizie and Aghdjadagh carried off four hundred women and girls from Gurun; some were allowed to return to their families, but one hundred and forty are still in the hands of their captors.

9. The priest, Der Vassil, of the church of Vezir-Keubru (Sandjak of Amasin) was murdered on December 14th, the church was plundered and the Armenian school of Hadji Keui burned.

#### 6. VILAYET MAMURET-UL-AZIZ

1. During the massacres in Harpout on November 28th, the Armenian churches of S. Garabed and S. Stepannos, the Protestant church and the Armenian school were demolished and set on fire. Two hundred families had to profess Islam under threats of death. The priest, Der Hagop, who refused to forswear his faith, was stripped to his shirt, and with swords brandished over his head threatened with death; the unhappy man lost his reason with the fright, and was taken away to prison.

The Armenian church of the village of Ichme was turned into a mosque and the Protestant churches of that village reduced to heaps of ruins. The Protestant church of Kohoylu was gutted and now serves as a stable. At Ichme forty leading men were pressed to accept Islam. On



refusing, they were led away, and by the order of sheikh, beheaded on the very floor of the church. The church attendant was compelled by the violent command of the murderers to tie a cord to the corpses' feet and drag them to the river bank.

In the country the three monasteries of S. Kevork of Sorsor, S. Asdvadzadzin of Tadem, and Altelmesseh of Zartaritsh were plundered; the sanctuaries and other buildings of these were burned down, so that only their smoke-blackened walls remain. At Tadem, the venerable Archimandrite, Ohannes Papizian, refusing to adopt Islam, his hands were cut off, and then his arms at the elbow, and he was then required to abjure his faith. When he again refused he was beheaded, while repeating the Creed. The servant of the Archimandrite and both superiors of the monastery were killed, and their bodies devoured by savage dogs. The following eight priests were also killed, and their bodies were skinned :

Der Harutian, priest of the church at Habus.

|            |   |   |             |
|------------|---|---|-------------|
| " Sarkis,  | " | " | Muri.       |
| " Seth,    | " | " | Komk.       |
| " Sarkis,  | " | " | Khoylu.     |
| " Agop,    | " | " | Tadem.      |
| " Aharon,  | " | " | "           |
| " Agop,    | " | " | Kesserik.   |
| " Khazar,  | " | " | Morinik.    |
| " Ohannes, | " | " | Husseyinik. |
| " Vahram,  | " | " | "           |

All these priests were murdered because they refused to embrace Islam, while the following

priests and their people were driven to apostasy by threats of a general massacre :

Der Boghos, priest of the church at Khoylu.

|             |   |   |             |
|-------------|---|---|-------------|
| " Sahak,    | " | " | Kesserik.   |
| " Mikael,   | " | " | Husseyinik. |
| " Nishan,   | " | " | Korpe.      |
| " Garabeth, | " | " | Shentil.    |
| " Ohannes,  | " | " | Khop.       |
| " Krikor,   | " | " | Nekerek.    |

Other clergymen, a priest, Stepan, and a monk have disappeared, and no one knows where they have gone.

Simultaneously with the priest, Der Mikael of the church at Husseyinik, the Protestant Armenian pastor had to accept Islam and wear a turban. In the same village the soldiers collected about six hundred women and young girls in an open space and after publicly satisfying their vilest passions afterwards killed the unhappy victims. All Armenians of the thirteen villages, Mosserik, Morenik, Pertak, Ashushan, Husseyinik, Khokh, Nekerek, Shentil, Korpe, Harsik, Zor, Dzaruk, and Behmeshin were compelled to become Mohammedans; the churches were plundered, wrecked and then set on fire. Several women and young girls were carried off and taken by the originators of these infamies to Harpout and the outlying villages. In many places young Armenian girls were by force married to Turks.

During the attack on Haburs, the soldiers set fire to the church; the villagers who had sought refuge there had to leave their asylum to escape

the fire, and were cut down in crowds. The rest could only save their lives by abjuring their faith. The women and girls who were carried off had to endure extreme privations, and some of them were driven into marriage with Turks.

In the village of Khoylu, a Turk, Hadji Bego by name, forced an Armenian woman to undress, and made her go through the street in this condition.

In Ayvos, Schitro, and the surrounding places, the priests of the Armenian church were killed and the whole Armenian population of some thousands compelled to profess Islam.

In the whole district of Harpout, where there were sixty Christian villages, not one church or one school now serves its purpose. Only one single priest is living for the whole Christian population; all the others are dead or driven to apostasy.

In this part of the country conversion and circumcision go on day after day. The churches are turned into mosques, and the Turks who have taken possession of the keys refuse to yield them again.

2. During the massacres in the villages of Egin, which took place on November 8th, the monastery of S. Pergitsch was plundered, desecrated, and ruined. The villages Lidjik, Narver, and Azni saw their churches robbed and devastated. The whole Armenian population of these villages was required and compelled to adopt Islam. The inhabitants of Lidjik with their priest had to submit to the same demand.

3. In the district of Aghen, too, the inhabitants

of fourteen Armenian villages were compelled to become Mohammedans, and were at once initiated. Their churches were despoiled and now serve as mosques, and the work of transforming their interior construction is going on. The lives of these unhappy people are exposed to the greatest danger if the slightest complaint is made of neglect or omission of the duties of their new religion. The authorities of the district now demand of them a subscribed declaration that they adopted Islam voluntarily. The inhabitants of the village of Antsherti had likewise to sign a declaration in the same sense. Needless to add, Mohammedan names are given to these converts, and they are required to form mutual ties of relation with their new companions in faith. In the village of Gamaragab the church of S. Asdvadzadzin and the chapel of S. Kevork were robbed of all their wealth, consisting of sacred vessels, priests' robes, etc. The pictures of the Virgin and of other saints were mutilated, and the altar destroyed.

The rioters then led the villagers, threatening them with their weapons, into the church, where, after profanation of the sanctuary and the consecrated vessels, a man named Ali Effendi, a teacher in the Turkish school of the place, mounted the clock-tower to cry the muezzins' call, and the people were compelled to repeat the namaz-prayer. The whole population of Gamaragab was forced to wear turbans, the women to veil their faces like the Turkish women.

Twenty-five Armenian maidens were compelled to marry Turks. The priest of the place, Der



Garabeth, who was compelled, like the rest, to attend the mosque, fell ill from excitement caused by the violent threats used against him. In the course of the massacre in the villages of Tshemeshgazak in September, the churches of Miadun and Paghapun were pillaged and set on fire. Der Nishan, the priest of Miadun, was killed, and his body was burned; a number of Christian women threw themselves into the Euphrates to escape dishonour; they and their daughters choosing rather thus to meet their death.

In the villages of Gameri, Siana, Murnali, Morshka, Beyretil, Bahdjedik, Mezire, and Kharrassar, the churches were pillaged and ruined. The inhabitants of Gameri were compelled to embrace Islam, and immediately initiated. Among these was the priest of the place, Der Dadjad, who was made to marry a young Mohammedan woman.

4. During the massacre at Arabkir—beginning on November 6th, and lasting fully ten days—the three splendid churches of S. Agop, S. Kevork, and S. Loussavoritsh were pillaged, desecrated, and burnt; a chapel, four schools, and two churches of the Armenian Protestants sharing the same fate, while the Armenian Cathedral was completely pillaged. Six Armenian priests were killed, among them Krikor Aprahamian, the archimandrite; two brothers, Der Megherditsh and Der Kegham Chamlian, priests; and Der Nerses Balkayan, Der Kurken Yazidjian, Der Tornik Pakhtikian, also members of the clergy. Der Hussik, *ad interim* Metropolitan, was arrested,

with his two little children, and is still in prison. About twenty Christians have, from terror, accepted Islam. A great number of women and girls were dishonoured, among them a young Armenian girl, only twelve years old, whom a Turk, named Hassan Effendi, carried off and forcibly married.

In the country, Der Harutian, priest of the church in Antsherti, was murdered with unheard-of cruelty; and all the inhabitants of twenty Christian villages, along with their priests, were forced to adopt Islam. These villages were, Saghmeda, Maschgerd, Ehnetzig, Vazshen, and others. All the inhabitants of these villages were forcibly initiated. Innumerable atrocities were committed on the girls and women, several of whom were carried off to the harems of the leading Turks of the place.

5. At Malatia, during the massacre of November 4th, the Armenian churches and schools were set on fire.

#### VII. VILAYET DIARBEEKIR

1. In the massacre at Diarbekir, of November 1st, the church of S. Serkiss was pillaged and its altars demolished. The officiating priest for the day Der Harutian, was killed, and the skin torn from his body. The church-attendant suffered the same fate. The church of S. Khatsh in Sadi, and the chapel of Asdvadzadzin of Alipunar, villages near the town, were first pillaged and profaned, and then set on fire along with the dwelling-houses attached. The priest of the church of Alipunar

was also killed and flayed. The rioters laid waste the monastery of Magapayetzootz; the brotherhood were put to the sword, with three hundred Armenians who had fled to the monastery from the massacre at Diarbekir.

Even the famous monastery of S. Asdvadzadzin Partzrahayatz, twelve hours from Diarbekir, was utterly pillaged and destroyed. The whole brotherhood were killed except the abbot, Der Hakop, who, after having one ear cut off, was compelled to adopt Islam.

At Argheni, after the massacre, the church was turned into a mosque; the priest was slain.

2. The Christians of one hundred and five villages in the districts of Selivan, Besharik, Zerigan, and Paravan, and a great part of the Armenian population of the districts of Hayne and Ledje were coerced into Islam.

3. In Palu, where the massacres took place on November 5th and 12th, the four churches of the town were pillaged and turned into mosques. Innumerable outrages on women and young girls were committed. Several Armenian women threw themselves, along with their young children, into the Euphrates to avoid dishonour.

In the surrounding villages all the survivors of the massacre were forced to adopt Islam, and the churches were turned into mosques. The churches of the village of Havav were set on fire after being plundered and devastated. The Armenian population of the village, having been forcibly converted, were initiated along with the priest of the church. Two other priests, Der Krikor and Der

Garabeth, were killed upon refusing to abjure their faith: The Armenian church of the village of Issabeg was set on fire, and Der Kevork, priest of Tzeth, and Der Nerses, the priest of Khomod, were murdered.

#### VIII. VILAYET ALEPPO

1. In the first massacre at Ourfa, on November 9th, women were mutilated, the infants torn from them and thrown into the streams, some alive, others gashed crosswise.

2. In Marash, Armenian ladies and young girls, after being publicly and with vile and indescribable brutality dishonoured, were left lying without shelter in the snow and mud of the streets. Numberless children died of hunger, and their bodies were left to lie on the roads and were devoured by dogs.

3. At Yarpuz, in the district of Albistan, and at Gogisson, in the district of Inderun, young women and girls were subjected to the grossest dishonour; a large number of the inhabitants were put to death, many were compulsorily converted to Islam, and the handsomest women and girls taken into the harems of the Beys of Albistan and Yarpug and the chief Circassians of the place, who distributed them among themselves like prizes of war.

#### IX. VILAYET ADANA

On November 9th, the soldiers of the reserve forced their way into the church of Messis, ran-

sacked the building while vespers were being read, stole the church plate and the treasures of the sanctuary, demolished the altar, trampled underfoot the Sacrament, scattered the holy oil on the ground, and tore up the Gospel and other religious books. Der Agop, the priest, who amidst this pillage was beaten, was afterwards brought to Adana, where he was imprisoned, his crime being that he had telegraphed a complaint of these villanies to the Vali. The wife of this priest, who lived in a house near the church, suffered the extremest degradation.

2. In the district of Payass, the church of S. Purgitsk at Tschorkmerzimen was pillaged, and the overseer, Agop Vanesdji-Kian, murdered on the pavement.

Around Tschorkmerzimen the churches of the villages Enzurlu and Odjamli were pillaged and burnt to the ground, while in Nadjarli the rioters pressed into the church, tore up the Gospels and trod them underfoot. The cross which adorned the screen was desecrated; they tore the beard of the priest, and finally set fire to the church. Armenian maidens, who had been carried off from Fernuz, Goban, and Marash, were compelled to marry Turks of Payass.

3. In the district of Hadjin the church of Rumli was pillaged and the priest bastinadoed.

## STATEMENTS OF DELEGATES

TABULAR STATEMENT OF OCCURRENCES *in*  
*from the Six Embassies (alluded to*  
VILAYET

| Place.      | Date.         | Killed.                                     | Wounded. |
|-------------|---------------|---|----------|
| Trebizond . | October 2 .   | .....                                       | .....    |
|             | October 4-5 . | .....                                       | .....    |
|             | October 8 .   | About 600, of<br>whom 20 were<br>Mussulmans | .....    |

*Asia Minor in 1895, prepared by the Committee of Delegates in text under title of 'Ambassadors' Report').*

OF TREBIZOND.

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|---|--|
| <p>Bahri Pasha, ex-Vali of Van, and Hamdi Pasha, General in Command of the Military Division, were slightly wounded by two shots believed to have been fired by Armenians.</p> <p>Great excitement was caused among the Mussulmans by the news of the disturbances at Constantinople on the 30th September. On the evening of the 4th, 3000 armed Mussulmans, some of them from the neighbouring villages, entered the town and attacked the Christian quarters. According to the Vali, the occurrences originated in a private quarrel between Armenians and Turks; but the fact that a portion of the Mussulman demonstrators had come from villages several hours distant from Trebizond is clear proof of premeditation on their part. Moreover, the Mussulmans of the town had during the day bought considerable quantities of arms in the Bazaar, and had also attempted to seize a store of arms.</p> <p>The Consuls at once made representations to the Vali, who had returned to the town from the country while the demonstration was going on. About midday a panic arose in all parts of the town, and shots were heard on all sides. It appears from the inquiry held by the Consuls that there was no provocation on the part of the Armenians. The town was quiet when, at a signal given by sound of trumpet, the riot commenced. It ceased about three o'clock, on a similar signal being given. All the Armenians who were surprised in the street were murdered. The assassins also broke into the shops, killed the merchants, and carried off their goods. The foreigners' houses alone were spared, evidently by order. One hundred and fifty persons took</p> | <p>The attitude of the Vali was satisfactory; the military authorities acted slowly and with hesitation.</p> <p>The account given by the authorities of the origin of the occurrences appear to be incorrect. Only Mussulmans were mixed up in the quarrel.</p> <p>When the signal was given, the Laz Mahonadjis at the harbour ran to their boats to get their arms there. At several places soldiers were surprised in the act of helping persons who were murdering and pillaging. Officers of superior rank were seen having stolen articles placed on carts and taken to their houses. The authorities allowed the pillage to go on till the evening. It was not till the</p> |

| Place.         | Dates.         | Killed.                              | Wounded. |
|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|----------|
|                | November 24 .  | .....                                | .....    |
|                |                | 107                                  | .....    |
| Gumush-Hane .  | October 25 .   | 100<br>Armenians, and<br>some Greeks | .....    |
|                | October 26 .   | .....                                | .....    |
| Samsun . .     | December 7 .   | .....                                | .....    |
|                | December 13 .  | .....                                | .....    |
| Aghdja-Guney . | December 14-15 | .....                                | .....    |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|--|--|
| <p>refuge at the Russian Consulate. All the other Consulates also gave refuge to the fugitives pursued by the assassins. The establishment of the Christian Brothers took in more than 2000 up to the 15th October.</p> <p>More than sixty Armenians took refuge on board the Russian mail-packet; they had difficulty in escaping from the hot pursuit of the boatmen, who tried to kill them before they got on board.</p> <p>An attempt to create a fresh disturbance was quickly frustrated.</p> <p>More than 1500 Armenians embarked for Russia during the months following the disturbances. The lost incurred is estimated at £T.200,000 (about 5,000,000 fr.).</p> <p>Confidence has not been restored. The town is ruined from an economic point of view, and the Christians, with good cause, remain very anxious. The Greeks in the country are emigrating in considerable numbers.</p> <p>Among the villages in the Trebizond region that were plundered the following may be mentioned: Mala, fifty killed; Bujuk-Samoruk-Su, eighteen killed; Kuchuk-Samoruk-Su, eight killed; Barian, eighteen killed; and Zefanos, thirteen killed.</p> <p>The Mussulmans massacred the Armenians of the place and of the surrounding villages. Before beginning the massacre, the Mussulmans, assembled in the public square, separated the Armenians from the other Christians, and made the latter join them to avoid mistaking them for their victims, marked out beforehand.</p> <p>The following villages in this region were plundered: Hassova, Armudan, Zommara, Pingian, Agovannes, Iban, Toretz, Sarindik, Edzbeder, Agrokuz, Ilamluk.</p> <p>The village of Kabadjeviz was attacked by the band of the brigand Kaikdjoglu. Some Armenians were killed; the rest fled into the country.</p> <p>A panic arose at Samsun, especially among the Greeks. The Mutessarif restored peace with some promptitude.</p> <p>At Aghdja-Guney, a place in the Caza of Charshamba, Sandjak of Samsun, the Redifs sent to protect the villages of the district from the brigands committed all kind of excesses on the</p> | <p>10th that 150 soldiers, promised by the Vali on the 5th, arrived from Rize.</p> <p>The court-martial instituted to discover the persons guilty of the crimes of the 8th of October, confined itself to giving advice to the Mussulmans.</p> <p>As for the Armenians, they were arrested <i>en masse</i>, on the pretext of protecting them from the Mussulmans.</p> <p>Eight were condemned to death, and twenty-five to several years' imprisonment.</p> |

| Place. | Dates. | Killed. | Wounded. |
|--------|--------|---------|----------|
|        |        |         |          |

## VILAYET OF

|            |              |                 |       |
|------------|--------------|-----------------|-------|
| Erzeroum . | October 6 .  | .....           | ..... |
|            |              | 15              | ..... |
|            |              | 8               | ..... |
|            |              | 30              | ..... |
|            | October 30 . | 300<br>12 Turks | ..... |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population. |
|--|---|
| inhabitants, plundered their houses, pillaged the Armenian church, desecrated the sacred objects in the presence of the priests, whom they had bound with cords, and declared that they would continue to treat the Armenians in the same way so long as they did not embrace Islam. |   |

## ERZEROUM.

Two Armenians were killed in the town. This murder, and the news of the disturbances at Trebizond on the 5th and 8th, created great anxiety among the Armenians. On the 28th the Mussulmans plundered the village of Tifnik near Erzeroum.

During the last days of the month, about forty Armenian villages in the Caza of Terdjian were sacked and burnt. The inhabitants were massacred in large numbers. The following villages in particular may be mentioned :—

Pakaridji.—Two hundred houses plundered. The inhabitants who escaped being massacred were converted to Islam by force.

Pulk.—Eighty houses plundered. The inhabitants who were spared were forced to become Mussulmans.

Pirij.—One hundred and twenty houses plundered. The inhabitants who were spared were compelled to embrace Islam.

The only Armenian villages in the Caza that were spared were Karakoulak, Maugh, Hoghegh.

The massacre of Armenians at Erzeroum began at midday, and the plundering of houses and shops went on till the evening. Many villages in the neighbourhood of the town were sacked.

Apart from the 400 persons ascertained by the Consuls to have been killed, a large number of other Armenians have disappeared. Numbers of wounded were taken to the ambulance established at the residence of the Christian Brothers.

One thousand five hundred shops and several hundred houses were plundered.

Although the patrols had been strengthened at the beginning of October, the authorities, in spite of the efforts made by the Consuls to induce them to adopt measures to quiet the people and disarm the Mussulmans, confined themselves to arresting Armenians. Yet the Turkish population was openly preparing for a massacre.

The Consuls affirm the open participation of the officers and soldiers in the massacre and pillage. The disturbances were not stopped till the shops had been completely sacked and their inhabitants massacred; the murders and pillaging went on all through the night of the 30th October and the following night in the isolated quarters.

It was only after these occurrences that the authorities began to look after the wounded and indigent, and to search for the stolen articles. Subsequently 200 Turks and Lazes who had taken part in the plundering were arrested, and the authorities state that they had more than 100 of them shot.

But the Kurdish Chief, Hussein Pasha Haideranli, who was summoned to give an account of his proceedings, was not summoned before the Court-martial, although the gravest charges were brought against him.

| Place.     | Dates.         | Killed. | Wounded.         |
|------------|----------------|---------|------------------|
|            | November 3 .   | .....   | .....            |
|            | November 25 .  | .....   | .....            |
|            | December 10 .  | .....   | .....            |
| Passen . . | November 27-28 | 140     | .....            |
| Ova, . . . | November 27-28 | .....   | .....            |
|            |                | 2       | .....            |
|            |                | 2       | .....            |
|            |                | 4       | Several<br>..... |
|            |                | 5       | .....            |
|            |                |         | Several          |
|            |                | 3       | .....            |
|            |                | 2       | .....            |
|            |                | 1       | .....            |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|---|--|
| <p>Fresh disturbances. Some Armenians were killed.</p> <p>A panic occurred during which one Armenian was killed and ten were wounded.</p> <p>A fresh panic, but without bloodshed.</p>  | <p>As for the Redifs, who were afterwards called out, they were animated by the worst spirit, and declared that, if they were to march out to obey the Sultan's orders, they must first clear the country of all the Christians.</p> |
| <p>The Monastery of Hassankale was plundered and burnt, and the bishop and all the inhabitants but one were massacred.</p> <p>Fourteen other villages of the Caza were plundered.</p> <p>The following villages were spared :—</p> <p>Delibala, which resisted.</p> <p>Kamazor, which paid a ransom of twenty somars of corn and £T.10.</p> <p>Dodoveran, which paid a ransom of sixteen somars of corn.</p> <p>Ishgon, which paid a ransom of £T.30.</p> <p>Among the villages of this Caza that were plundered, the following may be mentioned :—</p> <p>Yuzveren, Ekebad, Shihu, Krtabaz, Yagan, Keupru-Keui, Tordan, Erteu.</p>   |  |
| <p>The following villages in this Caza were plundered and burnt :—</p> <p>Chipek, completely sacked.</p> <p>Arzati, completely sacked.</p> <p>Dinarikon, completely sacked.</p> <p>Umudum, completely sacked. The church was burnt; the priest and another Armenian were killed.</p> <p>Keghakor, completely sacked.</p> <p>Gherichk, completely sacked.</p> <p>Gherdjengoz, completely sacked.</p> <p>Tevnik, completely sacked. The church was plundered; the priest and three Armenians were killed.</p> <p>Ozni, completely sacked. The church was plundered; the priest and three Armenians were killed.</p> <p>Badishen, completely sacked.</p> <p>Pelur, completely sacked.</p> <p>Iledja. The houses of the rich Armenians were sacked.</p> <p>Abelhendi, completely sacked.</p> <p>Salazzor, completely sacked.</p> <p>Tarkuni, completely sacked.</p> <p>Komk, completely sacked. The church was plundered and the priest killed.</p> |  |



| Place.        | Dates.                           | Killed.             | Wounded. |
|---------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------|
|               |                                  | I                   | I        |
|               |                                  |                     | Several  |
| Erzindjan . . | October 21 .                     | Several<br>hundreds | 400      |
| Baiburt . .   | October 27 .                     | 650<br>700          | .....    |
| Kighi. . .    | October 14 .<br>" 16 .<br>" 23 . | .....               | .....    |
| Bayazid . .   | .....                            | Nearly 500          |          |

## STATEMENTS OF DELEGATES

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.   |
|--|---|
| <p>Sengarig, completely sacked.<br/>Gueuz, completely sacked.<br/>Rabat, completely sacked.<br/>Ukhdazor, completely sacked.<br/>Kachga-Vank, completely sacked. The Archimandrite was wounded, and one Armenian killed.<br/>Sengutli, completely sacked.<br/>Souk Chermak escaped being plundered by paying a ransom of £120.</p> <p>Disturbances and massacres of Armenians took place in consequence, the authorities say, of the murder of a Mullah by the Armenians. According to official accounts, seventy-five Armenians were killed. The Consuls estimate the number of the victims at several hundreds, including seven Mussulmans.</p> <p>A band of Mussulmans, armed and mounted, commanded by a deserter, Chaldaroghlu, coming from Surmene (a Caza of the Sandjak of Trebizond), completely plundered the villages in the neighbourhood of Baiburt. More than 650 Armenians were killed in the town; in the villages the whole male population was massacred. More than 165 villages were laid waste. The villages of Narzahan and Lussukli suffered particularly.</p> <p>M. Bergeron, French Consul at Erzerum, who travelled through the district on his way to France on leave of absence, found the country between Baiburt and Gumush-hane (Vilayet of Trebizond) completely laid waste. When passing near Narzahan he saw about 100 bodies of Armenians being buried in a trench. The roads were covered with troops of women and children wandering about without shelter, food, or clothes. Several villages had to embrace Islam in order to escape destruction.</p> <p>Nine villages in the Caza were plundered. The town was besieged by the Kurds.<br/>A massacre of Armenians took place in the town.</p> | <p>The authorities did not interfere with the rioters, and have incurred a serious responsibility. It has been ascertained that many Mussulmans possessed arms borrowed from the troops; soldiers took part in the massacre and plundering.</p> |

## VILAYET OF

| Place.           | Dates.        | Killed.    | Wounded. |
|------------------|---------------|------------|----------|
| Bitlis . . .     | October 25 .  | Nearly 800 | .....    |
| Sasun and Talori | November 10 . | .....      | .....    |
| Mush . . .       | November 15 . | .....      | .....    |
| Seert . . .      | November 19 . | .....      | .....    |
|                  | December .    | .....      | .....    |

## BITLIS

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.   |
|--|---|
| <p>The Turks, on coming out of the mosque, attacked the Armenians without any provocation on the part of the latter. The massacre began and ceased on bugle signals being given. According to the Consuls, there were nearly 800 killed.</p> <p>According to the Ottoman authorities, there were only 169 killed, of whom 39 were Mussulmans, and 150 wounded, of whom 130 were Mussulmans.</p> <p>A large number of conversions to Islam are reported in the town and the villages.</p>   |   |
| <p>A certain number of Armenian villages in this district were plundered. The village of Ishkentzor may be specially mentioned. It was completely sacked, and the inhabitants were massacred.</p>  |   |
| <p>About twenty Armenians were massacred by the Mussulmans. The disturbances were quickly suppressed by Feham Pasha, Mutesarrif of Mush.</p>   | <p>The Cadi of Mushi is responsible for threats of massacres and for the disturbances which took place. It was only the energy and zeal of the Mutesarrif and the Mufti that saved the town from complete disaster.</p> |
| <p>A village in the neighbourhood of Seert was attacked and plundered by Mussulmans.</p> <p>At Shabakshur all the Armenians who survived the massacre were forced to become Mussulmans.</p> <p>The Mussulmans massacred a considerable number of Chaldæan and Armenian Christians. Many houses inhabited by Syrians and Jacobites were plundered. A large number of villages in the neighbourhood inhabited by Syrians, Chaldæans, and Jacobites were destroyed. The following may be specially mentioned—Mar Yacub, Berke, Telmeshtar, Beincof.</p> | <p>The authorities did all they could to force the Armenians to sign a declaration stating that they had themselves provoked the disturbances.</p>  |

## VILAYET OF

| Place.    | Dates.        | Killed. | Wounded. |
|-----------|---------------|---------|----------|
| Van . . . | .....         | .....   | .....    |
|           | October 25 .  | .....   | .....    |
|           | November 10 . | .....   | .....    |
|           | .. 10 .       |         |          |

## VAN

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.                               |
|--|---|
| <p>Adeldjevas.—Eighteen villages were pillaged by the Haideranli Kurds, under the command of Emin and Tamir Pashas. At the village of Arrin nine persons were killed. At Ardjist the Monastery of Mezope was plundered by Hassan Agha, father of Emin Pasha. At Pani two men and a woman were killed, and ten villages in the neighbourhood were pillaged. One hundred and sixty villages on the shores of Lake Van, in the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis, were plundered between the 1st and 20th November. The number of victims does not appear to have been so large as in the neighbouring vilayets.</p> <p>Notably, Serai, chief town of the Caza of Mahmudie, in the Sandjak of Hekkiari, was pillaged by the Kurds, under the command of Hussein Bey Takari, Kaïmakam of the Hamidies, on the 12th November.</p> <p>Dashkdale, Gargan, Sparghird, Shattak, Khoshab, Bergeri, Elbak were pillaged. Ten thousand persons were reduced to a state of complete destitution. At Khizam some Armenians saved their lives by embracing Islam. It is said that they were forced to kill their relatives who refused to become Mussulmans.</p> <p>Bogaz-Kessen and Hazira were pillaged by Kurds, as also Dermen, where the attack was led by the Hamidies under the command of Ahmed Khan, of the tribe of Shemsik Dedim.</p> <p>Haigatsor was plundered. The chief Armenian Notable of Azvazashen was killed. Lamazhird was attacked four times by the Kurds.</p> <p>At Mikhnir six Armenians perished.</p> <p>At Marmied a young girl had been carried off. An Armenian ventured to remonstrate. He was killed.</p> <p>Arshag was attacked by Kurds, who were repulsed by the troops. Some Kurds were killed.</p> | <p>The authorities did not interfere, in spite of the presence of troops.</p> |

## VILAYET OF

| Place.      | Dates.         | Killed.       | Wounded.             |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Kharput . . | November 10-11 | More than 500 | .....                |
| Arabkir . . | November 1-5 . | 2800          | A very large number. |

## MAMURET-UL-AZIZ

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|--|--|
| <p>The Kurds and Mussulmans attacked the Armenian quarters, and massacred the inhabitants. The Father Superior of the Capuchin Mission narrowly escaped. The American Mission-house was destroyed, and a large number of the Christians who survived were forced to embrace Islam.</p> <p>More than sixty villages in the neighbourhood of Kharput were ravaged. According to a communication from the Vali of Erzerum to the Consuls, there were ninety-two killed, of whom twelve were Mussulmans. The 'hospices' under the care of the Capuchins were filled with wounded.</p> <p>A caravan of 200 Armenians, sent back from Adana to Kharput, their native place, was attacked by Kurds, who killed 193 of them. The gendarmes, instead of protecting them, took part in the plundering.</p> <p>It is impossible to state with accuracy the number of villages that were ravaged, or the number of Armenians that have disappeared. But, according to the information received by the Consuls, the whole district was devastated.</p> <p>As the Christians were very numerous in this district, it is to be feared that the number of victims was very considerable.</p> | <p>The officers and soldiers took part in the pillaging.</p> <p>The Kurds asserted that they acted with the connivance of the authorities. The latter finally saw that they must act; but it was too late; and as the officers, soldiers, and gendarmes had taken part in the pillaging, they did not dare to take steps to punish any one.</p>                            |
| <p>The Kurds and Turks, armed, threw themselves upon the Christians, and sacked the town. According to the official accounts, the number of victims was 260, of whom sixty were Mussulmans.</p> <p>According to the Consular Reports, the plundering and burning went on for ten days. Several churches were desecrated; about 2400 houses were plundered; about 2800 Armenians perished. The women and children who survived were reduced to a state of destitution.</p> <p>All the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Ambargha except three were massacred; sixty houses were sacked there. At the village of Shenig only six inhabitants remain.</p> <p>All the other villages of the plain were more or less ravaged.</p>  | <p>After the first few days bands of Mussulmans from the country joined those of the town.</p> <p>After the conflagrations were over the police made searches, and all the men who escaped being massacred were imprisoned. There is no news of their fate.</p> <p>The authorities distributed bread among the destitute for a few days, and then ceased to help them.</p> |

| Place.      | Dates.                       | Killed. | Wounded. |
|-------------|------------------------------|---------|----------|
| Eghin . .   | November 8 .                 | .....   | .....    |
| Malatia . . | October 29 .                 | .....   | .....    |
|             | November 4, 5,<br>6, 7, 8, 9 | 3000    | .....    |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|--|--|
| <p>The Kurds of Dersim attacked the village of Gamaragab; 300 houses were sacked, and a quarter containing thirty-one houses was entirely burnt. A portion of the inhabitants were massacred. The remainder were forced to embrace Islam.</p> <p>Eghin itself was spared on payment of a ransom of £T. 1500 to the Kurds.</p> <p>Abu-Sheikh was spared on payment to the Kurds of a ransom of £T. 200.</p> <p>At Pinghian, 250 houses were plundered.</p> <p>„ Armadan, 130 „ „</p> <p>„ Lidjk, 220 „ „</p> <p>„ Simara, 80 „ „</p> <p>„ Teghud, 140 „ „</p> <p>„ Musheshgak, 160 „ „</p> <p>„ Narver, 60 „ „</p> <p>A portion of the inhabitants of all these places were massacred. Those who managed to escape were forced to embrace Islam.</p>  |  |
| <p>On the first alarm being raised the Armenians took refuge in their houses. During the following days the alarm continued owing to the news of the massacres in the district.</p> <p>The Kurds and Turks threw themselves upon the Christians, and the massacres and pillaging went on for six days. The Armenians took refuge in the churches to escape from the plundering and conflagrations. The Catholic Capuchins were assaulted and ill-treated. Their house, their school, and their church were burnt. On the evening of the following day they were taken, with a crowd of Catholic Armenians, to a large barrack, where they remained in a room three days and three nights without food. Their losses amounted to 120,000 fr.</p> <p>The number of killed is estimated to have been at least 3000, including many women and young people. A large number were forced to embrace Islam.</p> <p>All the Armenian houses were burnt.</p> <p>The houses and the Orthodox Church of the village of Gumush-Meidan were sacked.</p> <p>At the village of Mamsha thirty houses were plundered.</p> | <p>The Mutessarif allowed the massacre and pillaging to go on for twenty-four hours.</p> <p>It was only on the evening of the 5th that he sent to the Catholic Armenian Bishop to say that, if his people who had taken refuge in the church wished to be protected, they must give up their arms. He did not allow them to leave the church and go to the barracks till they had done so.</p> <p>On the 6th he acted in the same way in regard to 3000 Gregorian Armenians who had taken refuge in their church.</p> <p>It was not till the 9th November that he had the Fathers taken to the house of a Mussulman.</p> |

## VILAYET OF

| Place.      | Dates.        | Killed.                  | Wounded.         |
|-------------|---------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Diarbekir . | November 1 .  | Greg. Armen. 1000        | 250              |
|             |               | Cathol. Armen. 10        | 11               |
|             |               | Orthod. Syrians 150      | 11               |
|             |               | Cathol. Syrians 3        | 1                |
|             |               | Chaldæans . 14           | 9                |
|             |               | Greeks . 3               | 3                |
|             |               | Protestants . 11         | 1                |
|             |               | 1191                     | 286              |
|             |               | Houses pillaged .        | 1701             |
|             |               | Shops pillaged and burnt | 2448             |
|             |               | Material losses          | £T.<br>2,000,000 |
|             |               |                          |                  |
|             | November 28 . | .....                    | .....            |

## STATEMENTS OF DELEGATES

## DIARBEBEKIR

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|--|--|
| <p>The Kurds from the country entered the town in the morning, and, in conjunction with the Mussulmans, pillaged the market and burnt it, and then massacred the Christians of all denominations. The soldiers, zaptiehs, and Kurds together fired upon the Christians. The slaughter went on for three days.</p> <p>The Turks asserted that the Christians had provoked the massacre by entering the mosques and killing Mussulmans. This statement is absolutely false. On the 30th October the French Consul reported that several meetings had been held at the house of a certain Djemil Pasha, at which the Sheikh of Zeilan and his son (implicated in the Sasun massacre) were present. The darkest designs against the Christians had been discussed. Placards had been posted on the walls of the mosques. The Mussulmans, misinformed in regard to the reforms decided upon by His Majesty the Sultan, had addressed to him a telegram of protest, and declared their intention of revenging themselves on the Christians on Friday, the 1st November, if the reply were not satisfactory. It is therefore evident that there was premeditation on their part, and there was cause for the panic among the Christians. An unusual excitement had also been observed for some time among the Mussulmans, who had been making considerable purchases of arms and ammunition.</p> <p>More than 700 Christians took refuge at the French Consulate. Five times the Kurds wished to attack the Consular building, but without success.</p> <p>Fresh disturbances broke out during the night, but were suppressed with some promptitude. All the surrounding district was devastated by the Kurds; the number of those who saw their families decimated and their villages destroyed is estimated at 30,000. Besides those whose bodies were recovered, many Armenians perished in the fires, and a large number of bodies were thrown into the flames by order of the authorities. 1000 Christians</p> | <p>Aniz Pasha, acting Vali, openly showed hostility to the Christians. Having received confirmation of his appointment as Vali early in October 1895, he began by irritating them and sowing discord between the clergy and their flocks by forcing the former to sign a telegram thanking the Sultan for conferring on him the post of Vali.</p> <p>Serious discord was on the point of arising in the religious communities, who bitterly reproached their religious heads for the weakness they had shown with regard to the Vali's request.</p> <p>The French Consul having called the Vali's attention to the alarming excitement prevailing among the Mussulmans, the Vali said that he feared nothing from them, and that he would guarantee that order was preserved.</p> <p>When the massacre was going on, on the fifth day, he still refused to comply with the French Consul's request that a guard might be sent for the interior of the Capuchin monastery.</p> <p>In order to restore order he disarmed the Christians, but, on the other hand, allowed the Mussulmans to retain their arms.</p> <p>He withheld from the Armenian community, which had 400 families to support, some assistance granted by the government, because the Bishop would not sign a telegram</p> |

| Place.     | Dates.        | Killed. | Wounded. |
|------------|---------------|---------|----------|
|            | December 31 . | .....   | .....    |
| Mardin . . | November 7 .  | .....   | .....    |

## VILAYET

|             |               |              |       |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------|
| Sivas . . . | .....         | .....        | ..... |
|             | November 12 . | About 1500 . | ..... |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.   |
|--|---|
| <p>of the town and 1000 villagers who were working in the town disappeared. 119 villages of the sandjak were pillaged and burnt. The excitement began again among the Kurds, and a great panic arose among the Christians.</p> <p>The town was in great danger, but a massacre was avoided. The whole district was devastated. The large Catholic-Armenian village of Telelarmen was completely sacked. Its inhabitants took refuge at Mardin. The Orthodox Greek village of Pakoz, containing 100 families, with the priest, was forced to embrace Islam.</p> | <p>admitting that the Armenians were to blame.</p> <p>Abdullah Pasha, Imperial Commissioner, and the Military Commander, put an end to the disorderly proceedings of the Kurds.</p> |

## OF SIVAS.

The Vilayet of Sivas, where the Armenian element is important and rich, was particularly agitated by the question of the administrative reforms to be introduced in Asia Minor.

Early in November nomadic Kurds from the Vilayet of Trebizond entered the Vilayet of Sivas, and, in conjunction with the Mussulmans, pillaged and burnt some Armenian villages. A certain number were killed at this time at Kara-Hissar, Zara, Divregghi, Derende, Susheri.

At midday constant firing began in the town. The massacres and pillage went on till three o'clock. The riot, which subsided to some extent on the 13th, began again on the 14th. There were about 1500 victims. All the shops belonging to Armenians were plundered, and the retail trade, which was entirely in their hands, is ruined.

On the evening of the massacre the Muezzins on the minarets invoked the blessing of Allah on the slaughter. It was observed that the Dervishes, in particular, incited the Mussulmans to massacre.

The Vali collected 1000 Redifs and 100 auxiliary zaptiehs, but was unable to obtain from the Porte authority to take effective measures.

The soldiers, sent after some delay to guard the French Vice-Consulate, grumbled loudly at being thus prevented from taking part in the massacre and pillage with their co-religionists.



| Places.                   | Dates.                           | Killed.                           | Wounded. |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------|
|                           | December 3                       | .....                             | .....    |
| Gurun                     | November 12                      | More than 1000                    | .....    |
| Shabin-Kara-Hissar-Sharki | October 27, 28, 29<br>November 1 | More than 3000<br>in the district | .....    |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.   |
|--|---|
| <p>Many isolated and secret murders were committed in the town during the next few days. Most of the victims were killed with axes or iron bars.</p> <p>There was a fresh alarm.</p> <p>Within a radius of ten kilom. round the town a large number of Armenian villages were destroyed, and the inhabitants massacred. It is impossible to estimate the number of the victims. All possible means were employed to force the Christians to sign a declaration in which the Armenians were represented as having provoked the massacres, and to denounce their co-religionists.</p> <p>The town, which contained 4000 Armenians, was besieged by 2000 Kurds, who, it is said, were Redifs in disguise. After resisting for four days the town was taken. It is stated that a thousand Armenians, who had taken refuge in their church, laid down their arms and were spared.</p> <p>It is impossible to say how many Armenians were massacred; but it appears from official intelligence received at Sivas that the numbers was very large.</p> <p>On the 28th November 1200 corpses were still lying unburied in the streets.</p> <p>1000 Armenian houses were burnt; 500 were plundered, as also were the churches.</p> <p>150 women and young girls were carried off by the Kurds.</p> <p>Pillaging and massacres occurred at the end of October.</p> <p>On the 1st November more than 2000 persons had taken refuge in the Gregorian-Armenian church. They were forced to surrender, and were massacred. The women and children were not spared.</p> <p>The number of persons massacred in the district of Shabin-Kara-Hissar-Sharki is estimated at more than 3000; the women, girls, and children were violated and killed in great numbers.</p> <p>Nearly thirty villages were sacked. Among these which suffered most were the following: Enderès, Busseyr, Anerli, Tamzara, Sirdik, Purk,</p> | <p>The Vali went to the bazaar and succeeded in allaying the excitement among the Mussulmans.</p> <p>The authorities caused search to be made in the Mussulman houses for the articles stolen, but this duty was intrusted to a certain Selim Oghlu, who was conspicuous among those who plundered the neighbouring villages.</p> |

| Places.        | Dates.         | Killed.    | Wounded. |
|----------------|----------------|------------|----------|
| Tokat . .      | November 15 .  | .....      | .....    |
| Zileh . .      | November 28 .  | 200        | .....    |
| Amassia . .    | November 15-16 | About 1000 | .....    |
| Marsivan . .   | November 15 .  | 150        | 500      |
| Khavza . .     | November 12 .  | 10         | .....    |
| Vezir-Keupru . | December .     | 200        | .....    |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|---|--|
| <p>Sis, Musheintz, Azputer, Anerghe, Tsiferi, Oeghin, Armutdagh. From forty to fifty per cent. of the Armenian population perished.</p> <p>Bands of plunderers tried to enter Tokat : they were driven back by the troops. But 150 Armenians suspected of belonging to Secret Committees were arrested.</p> <p>All the neighbouring villages in the plain of Ard-Ova were burnt and plundered. The plunderers, when they were unable to carry away all the provisions found in the Armenian houses, poured petroleum over them in order to prevent the survivors of the massacre from making use of them.</p> <p>A massacre took place here. Two hundred Armenians perished, and 300 houses were plundered.</p> <p>The Mussulmans attacked the Armenians, plundered the houses and shops, and massacred the Christians. All their establishments, including mills and timber yards, were plundered.</p> <p>According to the official accounts, there were only eighty victims. According to the Consuls' reports, they amounted to 1000. In particular, large numbers of corpses were drifted away by the Yeshil-Irmak.</p> <p>A crowd of Mussulmans threw themselves on the Christians ; 150 Armenians were killed, about 500 were wounded. The houses and shops, to the number of 400, were plundered. The assassins even carried off the clothes of the dead, and the corpses were left lying naked in the streets, unburied.</p> <p>Disturbances occurred in which ten Armenians were killed, and the shops kept by Christians were plundered.</p> <p>Disturbances broke out in this place. According to the Consuls' reports, more than 200 Armenians were killed. Official accounts give thirty-eight as the number. Three hundred houses were plundered.</p> | <p>The military commander showed great energy in taking steps for the protection of the town.</p> <p>The Imams and the troops took part in the massacre.</p> <p>The Mutessarif, Bekir Pasha, showed great energy in putting down the disturbances caused by the Mussulmans, in spite of the resistance of Edhem Bey, Commander of the Redifs, and the threats of his co-religionists.</p> <p>The soldiers took part in the massacre and pillaging.</p> <p>The Kaimakam tried to force the Jesuit Fathers to sign a declaration stating that the Armenians had provoked the massacre.</p> |

## VILAYET OF

| Places.        | Dates.         | Killed. | Wounded. |
|----------------|----------------|---------|----------|
| Aleppo . .     | .....          | .....   | .....    |
| Alexandretta . | November 7 .   | .....   | .....    |
| Antioch . .    | November 20 .  | .....   | .....    |
| Aintab . .     | November 15-17 | 1000    | .....    |

## ALEPPO

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.   |
|--|---|
| <p>In the month of September the presence of Armenian emissaries in the vilayet was reported, and caused some excitement among the Mussulman and Christian population. They did not, however, produce much effect on the Armenian villagers, who requested them to leave the country.</p> <p>The announcement of the reforms decided upon by His Majesty the Sultan, which, not having been published, were interpreted by the Armenians as conferring new privileges on them, and by the Mussulmans as putting them in a position of inferiority to the Christians, and as not applicable to themselves, caused excitement and created enmity between the people of different religions.</p> <p>On the other hand, the attitude of the Redifs, who were called out to preserve order, contributed to disturb it. They declared openly that, as they had been made to leave their homes, they ought to be left free to plunder and exterminate the Christians.</p> <p>Several panics occurred in Aleppo itself, but bloodshed was avoided. Unfortunately, in all the Cazas of the vilayet whole villages have disappeared, and a population of several thousand Armenians remains without shelter and exposed to famine and destitution.</p> <p>A panic was caused by the news of an alleged attack on the town by the Armenians of the village of Beilan.</p> <p>Excitement continued to prevail in the town. For several days Customs officials appeared in the cafés and streets of the town armed with contraband revolvers and guns seized at the Custom-house. The Governor took no steps to make these officials return to their duties.</p> <p>Kessab, near Antioch, was surrounded by troops, who threatened to massacre the Armenians if they did not give up their arms.</p> <p>The Mussulmans threw themselves on the Christians and massacred a thousand of them.</p> | <p>The advice given by the Consuls to the Armenians helped to allay the excitement, but the Consuls' representations to the authorities were received with marked indifference.</p> <p>Those representations were unsuccessful, owing to the determination of the Vali, Hassan Pasha, to take the most favourable view of the situation, the impotence of the few officials who were well-intentioned, and the connivance or complicity of the rest.</p> <p>It was not till all was over that the authorities thought of adopting the necessary measures.</p> <p>The Commission appointed at Aleppo, in connection with the Administrative Council, to try the disturbers of the peace, performed its duties in a lamentable manner.</p> <p>Insolent behaviour has been noticed on the part of soldiers passing through the port, who openly boasted of having taken part in the massacres in the interior.</p> |

| Places.        | Dates.  | Killed.                     | Wounded.                |
|----------------|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
|                | .....   | .....                       | .....                   |
| Biredjik . . . | December 25 .<br>.....                        | .....<br>.....              | .....<br>.....          |
| Ourfa . . .    | October 27-28 .                               | Several hun-<br>dreds.      | .....                   |
|                | December 28 .                                 | .....                       | .....                   |
| Marash . . .   | October 23 .<br>November 3 .<br>November 18 . | 40<br>350<br>More than 1000 | .....<br>.....<br>..... |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|---|--|
| <p>An unsuccessful attack was made on the Monastery of the Franciscan Fathers. Between Aintab and Uzun Yaila the acts committed by the Mussulmans were particularly atrocious.</p> <p>According to official accounts, the number of killed was 150, of whom 50 were Mussulmans.</p> <p>It appeared from the inquiry instituted by the Consuls, that an Armenian artizan having been killed, without any provocation on his part, by a soldier from Biredjik, the Turks fell on the Armenians while the market was going on, and killed 300 of them immediately. The mob then rushed to the Armenian quarters, where they met with some resistance. The plundering went on all the next day and the day following.</p> <p>A massacre began, but was quickly stopped.</p> <p>Since the last days of December the town has been in flames.</p> <p>The Kurds and Hamidiehs massacred many Christians. The wounded were very numerous. Fifteen hundred shops were plundered.</p> <p>The disturbances are said to have originated in a quarrel between a Turk and an Armenian; the Armenian having been killed his compatriots in their turn killed the Mussulman.</p> <p>A fresh massacre of Armenians took place. The authorities admit that 900 were killed. According to the Consuls, more than 2000 perished. The Kurds and Bedouins committed unparalleled cruelties, and the troops were powerless to restore order. This last massacre continued from the 28th December to the 1st January.</p> <p>In consequence of a quarrel between an Armenian and a Mussulman, the Turks attacked the Armenians and killed forty of them.</p> <p>A fresh attack was made on the Armenians by the Mussulmans, who killed nearly 350.</p> <p>Another massacre took place. It had been announced beforehand by the Mussulmans. More than 1000 Armenians perished. The authorities declared that the number of victims did not exceed 30.</p> <p>The establishments of the American Mission, the Theological Seminary, and the Academy</p> | <p>The Redifs behaved badly. Several deserters were seen at Aleppo in possession of plunder, sacred vessels, and ornaments. The Hamidiehs, however, took the most active part in the pillaging and massacre.</p> <p>A large number of Christians were forced to embrace Islam under threat of death. Those who consented hoisted white flags on their houses and put on white turbans. They were consequently spared.</p> <p>The Redifs, summoned to restore order, took part in the pillaging and massacre.</p> <p>It appears from the inquiries made by several Consuls that the authorities connived at the massacres, and that the Redifs took part in them.</p> |

| Places.        | Dates.        | Killed. | Wounded. |
|----------------|---------------|---------|----------|
| Yenidje-Kale . |               | .....   | .....    |
|                |               | .....   | .....    |
|                | November 17 . | .....   | .....    |
|                | .. 18 .       | .....   | .....    |
|                |               | 606     | .....    |

## VILAYET OF

|                     |              |       |       |
|---------------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Mersina and Adana . | October 31 . | ..... | ..... |
|---------------------|--------------|-------|-------|

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.   | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|--|--|
| <p>Boarding-house were sacked by the troops themselves. The seminary was burnt. The Franciscan Mission was spared; but its dragoman was killed in front of the establishment in presence of the soldiers, who did not interfere.</p> <p>At a place called El Oghlu, in the Marash district, a caravan of 250 Christians was attacked by the Kurds, who plundered and massacred them.</p> <p>At the end of October, the Franciscan monks of the district applied in vain for the assistance of the Marash authorities.</p> <p>A detachment of troops arrived at the hamlet of Mudjuk-Deressi, close to Yenidje-Kale, and, at a signal by bugle, threw themselves on the Christians and massacred them, and plundered and burnt the houses.</p> <p>The soldiers invaded the 'hospice' of Mudjuk-Deressi, and killed Father Salvatore. They then went to Yenidje-Kale, where they burnt all the houses and the Franciscan monastery. Three monks, and about fifteen orphans succeeded in escaping to Zeitun.</p> <p>Six hundred were killed at the villages of Yenidje-Kale, Mudjuk-Deressi, Cotecli, Churuk-Tash, Djeven, Bunduk, and Barik. The village of Dom Kale was sacked and burnt. The Franciscan monastery was destroyed, and it is not known what has become of the monks.</p> | <p>The troops themselves, led by their officers, carried out the massacre and pillaging.</p> |

## ADANA

A general panic was produced at Mersina and throughout the district by repeated attacks of individual Mussulmans on Armenians, captures of travellers, from whom money was extorted, and who were then plundered, and by the burning and pillaging of a large number of hamlets and isolated farms.

Among the places sacked the following may be mentioned :—

Hamzalu, where nine houses and sixteen shops were burnt, and six farms pillaged and burnt.

Faik Pasha, Vali of Adana, instead of taking the lead in the adoption of measures for the preservation of order, was travelling round his vilayet, and would not take heed of what had occurred.

Mehemet Midhat, the Defterdar, in charge of the vilayet, increased the excitement by uncalled-for measures against inoffensive Christians.

The authorities disarmed the

| Places.    | Dates.                 | Killed.        | Wounded.       |
|------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
|            | December 13 .          | .....          | .....          |
| Tarsus . . | .....<br>December 13 . | .....<br>..... | .....<br>..... |
| Missis . . | Middle of November .   | .....          | .....          |
| Hadjin . . | .....<br>October 16 .  | .....<br>..... | .....<br>..... |
| Pañas . .  | October 27 .           | .....          | .....          |
|            | November 11 .          | .....          | .....          |
|            | " 10 .                 | .....          | .....          |
|            |                        | 300            | .. ..          |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|---|--|
| <p>Temirtash, where seven farms were pillaged and burnt.<br/>Kimirtli, where forty houses were sacked.<br/>Ak Punar, where thirty houses were sacked.<br/>Kara Meriem, where twenty houses were sacked.<br/>Kara Kia, where ten houses were sacked.</p> <p>An anti-Christian movement had been prepared at Mersina for that day, and also at Tarsus, there being evident premeditation on the part of the Mussulmans. Lieutenant-Colonel Essad Bey dispersed the mobs.</p> <p>An Armenian priest was struck by a Turk. A band of Mussulmans armed with iron bars, knives, and sticks, paraded the town. Nazim Bey, assisted by the Kaïmakam of Tarsus, the Mufti, and some Armenian Notables, succeeded in arresting them. Some shops were, however, plundered, and two Armenians were killed. The movement was instigated by Turks from Cæsarea, who gave an account of the massacres there, and reproached the Mussulmans of Tarsus for not acting similarly.</p> <p>The Armenian church was desecrated, the priest's wife violated, and the priest himself imprisoned by the Turks, assisted by soldiers and zaptiehs. The attack was led by an officer.</p> <p>A massacre of Christians nearly occurred. The village of Shahr, two hours from Hadjin, was attacked by Kurds. Its 800 inhabitants fled to Hadjin.</p> <p>Disturbances broke out in the town, caused by the news of the massacres and pillaging throughout the district. The villages of Odjakli and Uzerli (200 houses) were plundered and burnt. The hamlet of Burnaz was plundered and burnt. Among the killed was a Greek. Among the villages sacked the following may be mentioned:—<br/>Hashzali, where four hundred head of cattle and a large quantity of grain were carried off.</p> | <p>Christians, and, on the other hand, permitted the presence in the town of an unusual crowd of armed Mussulmans.</p> <p>Nazim Bey, Mutessarif of Mersina, did his best to bring the guilty to justice.</p> <p>The Vali stated to the Commander of the French cruiser <i>Linois</i> that order had never been disturbed in the vilayet (22nd November), but it is to be noted that disturbances broke out at every place visited by Faik Pasha on his journey.</p> <p>The Kaimakam had given orders for the massacre, which was only prevented by the intervention of the Cadi and the Mufti.</p> <p>The Christians laid down their arms on condition that the Turks were also disarmed. This condition was not fulfilled. The soldiers witnessed the attacks of the Kurds and Mussulmans on the Christians without interfering. Armenian boys and girls were sold as slaves.</p> |

| Place.        | Dates.                | Killed. | Wounded. |
|---------------|-----------------------|---------|----------|
| Chok-Merzemen | November 13 .         | .....   | .....    |
| Akbes . . .   | End of November . . . | .....   | .....    |
|               | December 24 .         | .....   | .....    |

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.   |
|---|---|
| <p>Kacze, Kurt-Kulek, Kirshebeg, Dashir-dagh, Nadjarly, and four farms. 300 Christians were massacred. The material losses are estimated at £ T.50,000.</p> <p>This place was attacked by bands of Mussulmans, Kurds, and Circassians. About 6000 Christians, who had escaped from the massacres in the district, had taken refuge there. A very large number were killed and wounded. The inhabitants, hemmed in more and more closely, finally gave up their arms on the 21st November, but only on condition that the Turks should also be disarmed. This condition was not fulfilled.</p> <p>According to official accounts only eight Mussulmans were killed and thirteen wounded. The number of Armenian victims was not mentioned.</p> <p>Throughout this district numerous corpses in a state of putrefaction remained unburied in the fields.</p> <p>The Kurds threatened to plunder the establishment of the Lazarist monks at Akbes, and that of the Trappists at Sheikle (Caza of Kassa, Sandjak of Djebel-Bereket).</p> <p>In the last days of December the Lazarists were again threatened with fire and plunder.</p> <p>At the beginning of December the Mussulmans attacked and sacked the following places:—<br/>Gheben.<br/>Derendeh.<br/>Killis, where they threatened a large number of the inhabitants.</p> <p>The country is terrorised by Ali and Yussuf, two Turkish Beys of Taiac, in the Caza of Khassa, who continually molest the Christians, and have already caused the plunder at Bakdashli, between Akbes and Alexandretta, of a house which the missionaries used as a chapel, where they desecrated the articles used in worship.</p> | <p>The troops, at first 200, and afterwards 800, in number, looked on at the attack without interfering.</p> <p>Mohammed Ali Effendi, in charge of the Kaimakamate, averted the danger.</p> |



## VILAYET OF

| Places.       | Dates.              | Killed. | Wounded. |
|---------------|---------------------|---------|----------|
| Angora . .    | October<br>November | .....   | .....    |
|               | December 20 .       | .....   | .....    |
| Caesarea, . . | October . .         | .....   | .....    |
|               | November .          | .....   | .....    |
|               | November 30 .       | 1000    | 300      |

## ANGORA

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.   |
|---|---|
| <p>The events at Constantinople on the 30th September caused great excitement among the Mussulmans. The excitement was renewed in November. The Mussulmans at Angora and throughout the vilayet took to arms, although the attitude of the Armenians towards the Turks did not afford the least justification for these preparations. The panic among the Christians consequently increased every day. As the garrison of Angora consisted of only 100 men, the situation was precarious. The sermons of the Hodjas, who were sent to the vilayet to advise conciliation, appeared to produce quite the opposite effect upon the Mussulmans.</p> <p>A great panic prevailed in the town for two days. It seemed certain that the Turks resolved to attack the Christians. The Imams in the mosques advised the Mussulmans to arm and hold themselves in readiness. An unusual number of Mussulman villagers and Circassians were observed in the town. The Christians closed their shops. Thanks to the measures taken, no disturbance occurred.</p> <p>In the month of October disturbances were feared.</p> <p>In November the Hamidieh Kurds threatened to invade the town. Forty-five Christian villages of the sandjak were plundered, and the inhabitants massacred. The villages inhabited exclusively by Armenians, notably Ekrek and Mundjursum, of 800 and 1000 houses respectively, were pillaged, and all the inhabitants, including the women, were massacred.</p> <p>A massacre, for which the Mussulmans had been preparing for some days, took place. The Turks fell <i>en masse</i> on the bazaars and the houses of the Armenians. Whole families were massacred. The baths were forcibly entered, and the women and children were outraged, driven naked into the streets, killed, and mutilated; old people were burnt alive in their houses. Some of the survivors were forced to embrace Islam. The pillaging and burning went on for two days.</p> | <p>The authorities adopted some police measures to preserve order.</p> <p>No serious supervision was exercised over the Circassian immigrants who visited the villages in large bodies and terrorised the Christians and Mussulmans.</p> <p>Marshal Tewfik Pasha, the Vali, sent out numerous patrols.</p> <p>The authorities mobilized twelve battalions; the soldiers of eight of them mutinied and deserted.</p> <p>The authorities showed the greatest apathy, and did not interfere until the evening of the following day. Only the American and Jesuit Missions were protected. The latter, however, were without protection for twenty-four hours. Some Mussulmans saved Armenians. An officer of high rank of the garrison stated that, if</p> |

| Places.      | Dates.                          | Killed. | Wounded. |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---------|----------|
| Yuzgat . . . | October<br>November<br>December | .....   | .....    |
| Chorun . . . | November 20 .                   | 4       | 12       |
| Hadji-Keui . | November .                      | .....   | .....    |

## MUTESSARIFLIK

|               |              |    |    |
|---------------|--------------|----|----|
| Ak-Hissar . . | October 3. . | 50 | 33 |
|---------------|--------------|----|----|

| Account of the Occurrences and their Causes.  | Attitude of the Authorities and the Population.  |
|---|--|
| <p>In October this district was very disturbed. Four villages of the District of Akdagh-Maden, and that place itself, were sacked, and their inhabitants massacred by the Kurds and Circassians. The situation remained critical at Yuzgat, where armed Circassians went about spreading terror.</p> <p>In consequence of a quarrel, disturbances took place.</p> <p>A band of 250 Circassians plundered and burnt the village, and massacred ninety Christians and Mussulmans.</p> | <p>the Authorities had not placed obstacles in his way, he would have put down the rising at once, and thus prevented this massacre.</p> <p>Their presence was tolerated by the authorities.</p> |

## OF ISMIDT

Among the inhabitants of this place were fifty Armenian families surrounded by Circassian and Mohadjirs. On the regular market day the Mudir of Ak-Hissar persuaded the Armenians to give up their arms in order to avoid all cause of quarrel with the Mussulmans. Thereupon, on the pretext of a dispute which arose between a Circassian and an Armenian trader over the price of an article, the Circassians fell upon the Armenians, massacred about fifty of them, severely wounded thirty-three, and plundered the village. Fifty other Armenians disappeared. The bodies, horribly mutilated, were thrown into two wells, and some of them into the river Saccharia. The Assumptionist monks, who went to the spot, took thirty-five corpses out of the wells. The material losses are estimated at £T.15,000. Armenians were killed at several villages in the neighbourhood of Gheve; at Turcmen fifteen young Armenians, who had gone as usual with some Turks to cut wood in the forest, were attacked by the latter and killed with axes.

The Kaimakam of Gheve, on receiving information of the nefarious designs of the Circassians of Ak-Hissar, made ineffectual attempts to prevent the massacre. The Mutessarif of Ismidt, when informed of what had happened, proceeded to the spot, and, in a report which he drew up on his return, stated that the incident was of no importance. It was not till later that, at the request of the Armenian Bishop and the Assumptionist monks, he allowed them to go to Ak-Hissar to assist the wounded and collect the dead bodies. Arrests took place subsequently, but several Circassians, the worst offenders, escaped from prisons, and no measures of repression were taken.

# VI. STATISTICS. TABULAR VIEW.

| PLACE.<br>V = Vilayet.<br>D = District. | DATE.      | KILLED.                         |        | PLUNDERED AND DESTROYED. |                     |        |                           |           |              |     |
|---|------------|---------------------------------|--------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------|---------------------------|-----------|--------------|-----|
|   |            | Armenians and other Christians. |        | Mohammedans.             | Towns and Villages. |        | Houses and Shops.<br>= s. | Churches. | Monasteries. |     |
|   |            | Totals.                         | Items. |                          | Totals.             | Items. |                           |           |              |     |
| A. THE SIX REFORMED PROVINCES.          |            |                                 |        |                          |                     |        |                           |           |              |     |
| 1. V. Erzeroum,                         |            |                                 |        |                          |                     |        |                           |           |              |     |
| Erzeroum and neighbourhood, }           | Oct. 6, 30 | ...                             | ...    | ...                      | ...                 | ...    | ...                       | ...       | ...          | ... |
| D. Terdjjan, . . .                      | Nov. 25    | ...                             | 1,200  | 12                       | ...                 | 10     | 300                       | 7         | ...          | ... |
| D. Passen, . . .                        | Nov. 27-28 | ...                             | ?      | ...                      | ...                 | 43     | 1,500(s)                  | ...       | ...          | ... |
| D. Ova, . . .                           | Nov. 27-28 | ...                             | 140    | ...                      | ...                 | 14     | ...                       | ...       | ...          | ... |
| Erzingjan, . . .                        | Oct. 21    | ...                             | 20     | ...                      | ...                 | 23     | ...                       | 4         | ...          | ... |
| Baiburt, . . .                          | Oct. 27    | ...                             | 1,000  | 7                        | ...                 | ...    | ...                       | 8         | ...          | ... |
| D. Baiburt, . . .                       | Oct. 27    | ...                             | 1,000  | ...                      | ...                 | ...    | ...                       | 9         | ...          | ... |
| D. Narzahan, . . .                      | Oct. 27    | ...                             | ?      | ...                      | ...                 | 165    | ...                       | ...       | ...          | ... |
| D. Keghi, . . .                         | ...        | ...                             | 100    | ...                      | ...                 | ...    | ...                       | ...       | ...          | ... |
| Ressuan, . . .                          | Oct. 14-16 | ...                             | ?      | ...                      | ...                 | 10     | ...                       | 22        | ...          | ... |
| Bejazid, . . .                          | Oct. 23    | ...                             | 30     | ...                      | ...                 | ...    | ...                       | ...       | ...          | ... |
| Ksauta, . . .                           | ...        | ...                             | 500    | ...                      | ...                 | ...    | ...                       | ...       | ...          | ... |
| Kurutshy, . . .                         | ...        | ...                             | 400    | ...                      | ...                 | ...    | ...                       | ...       | ...          | ... |
| Dantzi, . . .                           | ...        | ...                             | ?      | ...                      | ...                 | ...    | ...                       | ...       | ...          | ... |
|   | ...        | ...                             | ?      | ...                      | ...                 | ...    | ...                       | ...       | ...          | ... |
|   |            | 4,390                           | 4,390  | ...                      | 267                 | 267    |                           |           |              |     |

| KILLED.                                      |                             | FORCED CONVERSIONS. |         |         | CHURCHES TURNED INTO<br>Mosques. | IN WANT. |         |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------|---------|----------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Clergy.                                      |                             | Villages.           | People. | Clergy. |                                  | Items.   | Totals. |
| Archbpa. = A.<br>Bishops = B.<br>Priors = P. | Priests and<br>Evangelists. |                     |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | ...                 | ...     | ...     | ...                              | ...      | 40,000  |
| ...  | 4                           | ...                 | 15,000  | ...     | ...                              | 4,000    |         |
| 1 A., 1 B.                                   | 12                          | 40                  |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| 1 A.   | 4                           |                     |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| 1 P.   | 2                           | 1                   |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | 9                           | 15                  | ...     | ...     | 7                                |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | 4                   |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | 1                           |                     |         |         |                                  |          |         |

| PLACE.<br>V=Vilayet.<br>D=District. | DATE.                   | KILLED.                         |        |              | PLUNDERED AND DESTROYED. |        |                      |           |              |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--------|--------------|--------------------------|--------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|
|                                     |                         | Armenians and other Christians. |        | Mohammedans. | Towns and Villages.      |        | Houses and Shops =s. | Churches. | Monasteries. |
|                                     |                         | Totals.                         | Items. |              | Totals.                  | Items. |                      |           |              |
| 2. V. Bitlis, .                     | ...                     | ...                             | ...    | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| Bitlis and neigh-<br>bourhood, .    | Oct. 25                 | ...                             | 900    | 39           | ...                      | 40     | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| D. Sassum and<br>Talori, .          | Nov. 10                 | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 20     | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| D. Mush, .                          | Nov. 15                 | ...                             | 100    | ...          | ...                      | 20     | ...                  | 1         | ...          |
| D. Seert, .                         | Nov. 19                 | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 10     | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| D. Khizan, .                        | ...                     | ...                             | 300    | ...          | ...                      | 31     | 648                  | 16        | ...          |
| D. Spagherd, .                      | ...                     | ...                             | 300    | ...          | ...                      | 29     | 573                  | 29        | ...          |
| D. Yerum, .                         | Nov. etc.               | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 12     | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| D. Chivan, .                        | Dec.                    | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 21     | ...                  | 20        | ...          |
| D. Segberd, .                       | ...                     | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                  | 1         | ...          |
| D. Gindj, .                         | ...                     | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 6      | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| D. Guzel-Dere, .                    | ...                     | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 6      | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| D. Djabagh-Tagur, .                 | ...                     | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| ...                                 | ...                     | 1,600                           | 1,600  | ...          | 195                      | 195    | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| 3. V. Mamuret-ul-<br>Aziz, .        | ...                     | 14,345                          | ...    | ...          | 300                      | ...    | { 8084<br>512(s) }   | ...       | ...          |
| Harpout and neigh-<br>bourhood, .   | Nov. 10-11              | ...                             | 1,193  | 12           | ...                      | ...    | ...                  | 30        | ...          |
| Arabkir and neigh-<br>bourhood, .   | Nov. 1-5                | ...                             | 4,000  | 60           | ...                      | ...    | { 3700<br>500(s) }   | 5         | 3            |
| Shepik, .                           | ...                     | ...                             | 53     | ...          | ...                      | ...    | 76                   | ...       | ...          |
| D. Eghin, .                         | Nov. 8                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 8      | { 1030<br>331(s) }   | 4         | ...          |
| D. Aghen, .                         | ...                     | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                  | 11        | ...          |
| Malatia, .                          | { Oct. 29<br>Nov. 4-9 } | ...                             | 5,000  | 500          | ...                      | 18     | 1000                 | 2         | ...          |
| Adiaman, .                          | Nov. 7-11               | ...                             | 410    | ...          | ...                      | 1      | ...                  | 4         | ...          |
| Chemiz-Guzek, .                     | ...                     | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| Ichme, .                            | ...                     | ...                             | 40     | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                  | 2         | ...          |
| D. Ayvos, .                         | ...                     | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                  | ...       | ...          |
| ...                                 | ...                     | ...                             | 10,616 | ...          | ...                      | 27     | ...                  | ...       | ...          |

| KILLED.                                      |                             | FORCED CONVERSIONS. |                     |         | CHURCHES TURNED INTO<br>Mosques. | IN WANT. |         |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------|----------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Clergy.                                      |                             | Villages.           | People.             | Clergy. |                                  | Items.   | Totals. |
| Archbps. = A.<br>Bishops = B.<br>Priors = P. | Priests and<br>Evangelists. |                     |                     |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | ...                 | ...                 | ...     | ...                              | ...      | 20,000  |
| ...  | 5                           | 40                  |                     |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | 1                           | 10                  |                     |         |                                  |          |         |
| 1 A.   | 1                           | 31                  | ...                 | 3       | 16                               |          |         |
| ...  | 2                           | 38                  | ...                 | 2       | 15                               |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | 12                  | ...                 | ...     | 12                               |          |         |
| ...  | 2                           | 21                  | ...                 | 20      | 10                               |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | 1                   |                     |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | 6                   |                     |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | ...                 | ...                 | ...     | 10                               |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | 10                  | ...                 | 10      | 10                               |          |         |
| .  |                             |                     |                     |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | ...                 | ...                 | ...     | ...                              | ...      | 100,000 |
| 1 A.   | 24                          | 74                  | { 200<br>w. & ch. } | 9       | 32                               |          |         |
| 1 A.   | 6                           | 20                  | ...                 | ...     | 20                               |          |         |
| ...  | 2                           |                     |                     |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | 10                  | ...                 | 2       |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | ...                 | ...                 | ...     | 14                               |          |         |
| ...  | 2                           | 1                   | ...                 | ...     | ...                              | 8,000    |         |
| ...  | ...                         | ...                 | 900                 |         |                                  |          |         |
| ...  | ...                         | ...                 | ...                 | ...     | ...                              | 2,500    |         |
| ...  | ...                         | ...                 | ...                 | ...     | 1                                |          |         |
| ...  | 10                          | ...                 | 3,000               |         |                                  |          |         |

| PLACE.<br><i>V</i> = Vilayet.<br><i>D</i> = District. | DATE.                | KILLED.                         |        |              | PLUNDERED AND DESTROYED. |        |                       |           |              |
|---|----------------------|---------------------------------|--------|--------------|--------------------------|--------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------|
|   |                      | Armenians and other Christians. |        | Mohammedans. | Towns and Villages.      |        | Houses and Shops = s. | Churches. | Monasteries. |
|   |                      | Totals.                         | Items. |              | Totals.                  | Items. |                       |           |              |
| 4. <i>V. Diarbekir</i> , .                            | ...                  | 6,000                           | ...    | ...          | 200                      | ...    | ...                   | ...       | ...          |
| Diarbekir and neighbourhood }<br>Mardin, .            | Nov. 1               | ...                             | 2,000  | ...          | ...                      | ...    | 1701<br>2248 (s)      | 8         | 1            |
| Monastery—Maga-<br>pavetzvotz, .                      | ...                  | ...                             | 300    | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | ...       | ...          |
| <i>D. Selivan, Hyne,</i><br><i>etc., .</i>            | ...                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | 105       | ...          |
| <i>D. Palu,</i> . . .                                 | ...                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | 6         | ...          |
| <i>Severek,</i> . . .                                 | Nov. 2               | ...                             | 1,500  | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | ...       | ...          |
|   |                      |                                 | 3,800  |              |                          |        |                       |           |              |
| 5. <i>V. Van</i> , . . .                              | Nov. 1-20            | ...                             | ...    | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | ...       | ...          |
| Van and neigh-<br>bourhood, .                         | ...                  | ...                             | 35     | ...          | ...                      | 146    | ...                   | ...       | ...          |
| Around Lake Van,<br><i>D. Adeljevas,</i> .            | ...                  | ...                             | 9      | ...          | ...                      | 160    | ...                   | ...       | ...          |
| <i>D. Pani,</i> . . .                                 | ...                  | ...                             | 3      | ...          | ...                      | 10     | 467                   | 17        | ...          |
| <i>D. Serai,</i> . . .                                | Oct. 25              | ...                             | 7      | ...          | ...                      | 10     | ...                   | ...       | ...          |
| <i>D. Moko,</i> . . .                                 | Nov. 10              | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 3      | ...                   | ...       | 2            |
| <i>D. Akhpar,</i> . . .                               | ...                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | 30        | 2            |
| <i>D. Bargerda,</i> . . .                             | ...                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | 8         | 3            |
| <i>D. Eimar,</i> . . .                                | ...                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | ...       | 3            |
| <i>D. Mamerdank,</i> . . .                            | ...                  | ...                             | 160    | ...          | ...                      | 27     | 244                   | 20        | 3            |
| <i>D. Upper Gargar,</i> . . .                         | ...                  | ...                             | 65     | ...          | ...                      | 10     | 248                   | 10        | 5            |
| <i>D. Lower Gargar,</i> . . .                         | ...                  | ...                             | 8      | ...          | ...                      | 10     | 164                   | 10        | 3            |
| <i>D. Pasantachd,</i> . . .                           | ...                  | ...                             | 1      | ...          | ...                      | 7      | 181                   | 7         | 1            |
| <i>D. Chodakh,</i> . . .                              | ...                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 10     | 150                   | 9         | ...          |
| <i>D. Norduz,</i> . . .                               | ...                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 10     | 150                   | 10        | 4            |
| <i>D. Havussor,</i> . . .                             | ...                  | ...                             | 10     | ...          | ...                      | 37     | 854                   | 30        | 6            |
| <i>D. Gardjgan,</i> . . .                             | ...                  | ...                             | 25     | ...          | ...                      | 27     | 837                   | 27        | 6            |
| <i>D. Moks, Ozime,</i><br><i>Deh, Bodan, etc., }</i>  | ...                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | 40     | 600                   | 40        | 7            |
| <i>D. Ardjesch,</i> . . .                             | ...                  | ...                             | ?      | ...          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | 15        | 6            |
| Van, . . .  | June 14-<br>22, 1896 | 1,000                           | ...    | 500          | ...                      | ...    | ...                   | ...       | ...          |
| <i>D. Van,</i> . . .                                  | June 14-<br>22, 1896 | 20,000                          | ...    | ...          | ...                      | 300?   | ...                   | ...       | ...          |
|   | ...                  | 323                             | 323    | ...          | 825                      | 525    | ...                   | ...       | ...          |

| KILLED.                                      |                          | FORCED CONVERSIONS. |         |         | CHURCHES TURNED INTO Mosques. | IN WANT. |         |
|--|--------------------------|---------------------|---------|---------|-------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Clergy.                                      |                          | Villages.           | People. | Clergy. |                               | Items.   | Totals. |
| Archbps. = A.<br>Bishops = B.<br>Priors = P. | Priests and Evangelists. |                     |         |         |                               |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | ...                 | ...     | ...     | ...                           | ...      | 30,000  |
| ...  | 19                       |                     |         |         |                               |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | 1                   |         |         |                               |          |         |
| ...  | 15                       | ...                 | ...     | ...     | 105                           |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | 105                 | ...     | 1       | 4                             |          |         |
| ...  | 4                        | 25                  | 200     | 3       |                               |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | ...                 | ...     | ...     | ...                           | ...      | 70,000  |
| ...  | ...                      | ...                 | ...     | ...     | ...                           | 43,000   |         |
| ...  | ...                      | 12                  |         |         |                               |          |         |
| ...  | 1                        |                     |         |         |                               |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | 20                  | ...     | ...     | 13                            |          |         |
| 1 P.   | 1                        | 10                  | ...     | ...     | 5                             |          |         |
| ...  | 4                        | 10                  | ...     | 3       | 5                             |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | 7                   | ...     | ...     | 5                             |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | 10                  |         |         |                               |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | 10                  | ...     | ...     | 5                             |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | 30                  | ...     | ...     | 15                            |          |         |
| 1 A.   | ...                      | 27                  | ...     | 1       | 14                            |          |         |
| 1 A. 2 P.                                    | 8                        | 40                  | ...     | ...     | 20                            |          |         |
| ...  | ...                      | ...                 | ...     | ...     | ...                           | ...      | 27,000  |

| PLACE.<br>V= Vilayet.<br>D= District. | DATE.             | KILLED.                               |        |              | PLUNDERED AND DESTROYED.  |        |                         |           |              |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--------|--------------|---------------------------|--------|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|
|                                       |                   | Armenians<br>and other<br>Christians. |        | Mohammedans. | Towns<br>and<br>Villages. |        | Houses and Shops<br>=s. | Churches. | Monasteries. |
|                                       |                   | Totals.                               | Items. |              | Totals.                   | Items. |                         |           |              |
| <b>6. V. Sivas, .</b>                 | ...               | ...                                   | ...    | ...          | 350                       | ...    | ...                     | ...       | ...          |
| Sivas and neigh-<br>bourhood, .       | Nov. 12<br>Dec. 3 | ...                                   | 2,060  | 10           | ...                       | ...    | ...                     | 20        | ...          |
| Gurun, .                              | Nov. 12           | ...                                   | 3,000  | ...          | ...                       | 17     | 1500                    | ...       | ...          |
| Schabin-Kara-His-<br>sar, .           | Oct. 27<br>Nov. 1 | ...                                   | 500    | ...          | ...                       | 30     | ...                     | 5         | 2            |
| Tokat, .                              | Nov. 15           | ...                                   | ?      | ...          | ...                       | ...    | ...                     | ...       | ...          |
| Zileh, .                              | Nov. 28           | ...                                   | 200    | ...          | ...                       | ...    | { 300<br>200(s) }       | ...       | ...          |
| Divrik, .                             | Nov. 16           | ...                                   | ?      | ...          | ...                       | ...    | ...                     | 2         | 4            |
| Gasma, .                              | ...               | ...                                   | ?      | ...          | ...                       | ...    | ...                     | ...       | ...          |
| Derende, .                            | ...               | ...                                   | ?      | ...          | ...                       | ...    | ...                     | 5         | 1            |
| Amasia, .                             | Nov. 15-16        | ...                                   | 1,000  | ...          | ...                       | ...    | ...                     | 2         | ...          |
| Marsivan, .                           | Nov. 15           | ...                                   | 150    | ...          | ...                       | ...    | 400                     | ...       | ...          |
| Kharza, .                             | Nov. 12           | ...                                   | 10     | ...          | ...                       | ...    | ...                     | ...       | ...          |
| Vezir Keupru, .                       | Dec.              | ...                                   | 200    | ...          | ...                       | ...    | 300                     | ...       | ...          |
| Niksar, .                             | June 1896         | ...                                   | 300    | ...          | ...                       | ...    | ...                     | ...       | ...          |
|                                       |                   | 7,420                                 | 7,420  |              |                           |        |                         |           |              |
| <b>B. THE REMAINING<br/>VILAYETS.</b> |                   |                                       |        |              |                           |        |                         |           |              |
| <b>7. V. Trebizond.</b>               |                   |                                       |        |              |                           |        |                         |           |              |
| Trebizond and<br>neighbourhood, }     | Oct. 4, 5, 8      | ...                                   | 2,000  | 20           | ...                       | 22     | ...                     | ...       | ...          |
| Gumuschhane, .                        | Oct. 25           | ...                                   | 100    | ...          | ...                       | 11     | ...                     | ...       | ...          |
| Samsun, .                             | Dec. 7            | ...                                   | 30     | ...          | ...                       | ...    | ...                     | ...       | ...          |
| Agdja-Guney, .                        | Dec. 14, 15       | ...                                   | ?      | ...          | ...                       | 1      | ...                     | ...       | ...          |
|                                       |                   | 2,130                                 | 2,130  | ...          | 34                        | 34     |                         |           |              |

| KILLED.                                     |                             | FORCED CONVERSIONS. |         |         | CHURCHES TURNED INTO<br>Mosques. | IN WANT. |         |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------|---------|----------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Clergy.                                     |                             | Villages.           | People. | Clergy. |                                  | Items.   | Totals. |
| Archbpa = A.<br>Bishops = B.<br>Priors = P. | Priests and<br>Evangelists. |                     |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | ..       | 180,000 |
| ..  | 12                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | 5,075    |         |
| ..  | 8                           | 1                   | ..      | ..      | ..                               |          |         |
| ..  | 2                           | ..                  | 655     | ..      | ..                               |          |         |
| ..  | 3                           | 3                   | ..      | 1       | ..                               |          |         |
| ..  | 1                           |                     |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| ..  | 1                           |                     |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | 4,000    | 4,000   |

| PLACE.<br><i>V</i> = Vilayet.<br><i>D</i> = District. | DATE.                  | KILLED.                               |        |              | PLUNDERED AND DESTROYED.  |                                |                                  |           |              |
|---|------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
|   |                        | Armenians<br>and other<br>Christians. |        | Mohammedans. | Towns<br>and<br>Villages. |                                | Houses and Shops<br>= <i>s</i> . | Churches. | Monasteries. |
|   |                        | Totals.                               | Items. |              | Totals.                   | Items.                         |                                  |           |              |
| <b>8. <i>V</i>. Angora,</b>                           | ...                    | ...                                   | ...    | ...          | ...                       | 45                             | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| Cesarea, . . .  | Nov. 30                | ...                                   | 1,000  | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | 200 ( <i>s</i> )                 | ...       | ...          |
| Ekrek, . . .  | ...                    | ...                                   | 400    | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | 800                              | ...       | ...          |
| Mundjursum, . .                                       | ...                    | ...                                   | 500    | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | 1,000                            | ...       | ...          |
| Yuzgat, . . .   | { Oct. Nov.<br>Dec. }  | ...                                   | 800    | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| Tschoroum, . .  | Nov. 20                | ...                                   | 4      | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| Hadjikoi, . . .                                       | Nov.                   | ...                                   | 90     | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
|   |                        | 2,794                                 | 2,794  | ...          | 45                        | 45                             | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| <b>9. <i>V</i>. Adana,</b>                            | ...                    | ...                                   | ...    | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| Mersina, Adana, .                                     | Oct. 31                | ...                                   | 2      | ...          | ...                       | 6                              | 125                              | ...       | ...          |
| Tarsus and neigh-<br>bourhood, . . .                  | Dec. 13                | ...                                   | ...    | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | 17 ( <i>s</i> )                  | 2         | ...          |
| <i>D</i> . Pajas, . . .                               | Oct. 27                | ...                                   | 300    | ...          | ...                       | 16                             | 2,209                            | 1         | ...          |
| Tschok-Merzemen,                                      | Nov. 11                | ...                                   | 50     | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | 3         | ...          |
| Akbes, . . .  | Dec. 24                | ...                                   | ...    | ...          | ...                       | 3                              | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
|   |                        | 352                                   | 352    | ...          | 25                        | 25                             | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| <b>10. <i>V</i>. Aleppo.</b>                          |                        |                                       |        |              |                           |                                |                                  |           |              |
| Aleppo, . . .   | ...                    | ...                                   | ...    | ...          | 250                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| Aintab, . . .   | Nov. 15-17             | ...                                   | 1,000  | 50           | ...                       | ...                            | 1,226                            | ...       | ...          |
| Marcash, . . .  | Oct. 23                | ...                                   | 1,390  | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | 1            |
| <i>D</i> . Marcash, . .                               | Nov. 3, 18             | ...                                   | 3,800  | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| El Oglu, . . .  | ...                    | ...                                   | 250    | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| <i>D</i> . Yenidje Kale,                              | Nov. 17-18             | ...                                   | 600    | ...          | ...                       | 10                             | ...                              | 2         | ...          |
| Albistan, . . .                                       | Oct. 25                | ...                                   | 300    | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| Killis, . . .   | ...                    | ...                                   | 216    | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| Zeitoun, . . .  | ...                    | ...                                   | 6,000  | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| Ourfa, . . .  | { Nov. 28<br>Dec. 28 } | ...                                   | 10,000 | ...          | ...                       | { 2,000<br>1,500( <i>s</i> ) } | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
| Biredjik, . . .                                       | ...                    | ...                                   | 96     | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |
|   |                        | 23,652                                | 23,652 | ...          | ...                       | ...                            | ...                              | ...       | ...          |

| KILLED.   |                             | FORCED CONVERSIONS. |         |         | CHURCHES TURNED INTO<br>Mosques. | IN WANT. |         |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------|---------|----------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Clergy.   |                             | Villages.           | People. | Clergy. |                                  | Items.   | Totals. |
| Archbps. = <i>A.</i><br>Bishops = <i>B.</i><br>Priors = <i>P.</i> | Priests and<br>Evangelists. |                     |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | ..       | 8,000   |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | ..       | 17,000  |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | 800      |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | 10,000   |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | 6,000    |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               |          |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | 3,000    | 50,000  |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | 8,000    |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | 11,000   |         |
| ..  | I                           | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               |          |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | ..      | ..      | ..                               | 13,000   |         |
| ..  | 12                          | ..                  | I       | ..      | ..                               | 12,000   |         |
| ..  | ..                          | ..                  | I       | ..      | ..                               | 250      |         |



| PLACE.<br><i>V</i> =Vilayet.<br><i>D</i> =District.    | DATE.                    | KILLED.                         |        |              | PLUNDERED AND DESTROYED. |        |                         |           |              |
|--|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------|--------------|--------------------------|--------|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|
|  |                          | Armenians and other Christians. |        | Mohammedans. | Towns and Villages.      |        | Houses and Shops<br>=s. | Churches. | Monasteries. |
|  |                          | Totals.                         | Items. |              | Totals.                  | Items. |                         |           |              |
| 11. Mut. Ismidt.<br>Ak-Hissar, . . .<br>Turcmen, . . . | Oct. 3                   | ...                             | 50     | 33           | ...                      | 1      |                         |           |              |
|  | ...                      | ...                             | 15     | ...          | ...                      | 1      |                         |           |              |
|  |                          | 65                              | 65     | ...          | 2                        | 2      |                         |           |              |
| 12. Constantinople,                                    | { Sept. 30<br>1895 }     | ...                             | 172    |              |                          |        |                         |           |              |
|  | { Aug. 25-<br>28, 1896 } | ...                             | 4,000? | 60?          |                          |        |                         |           |              |
|  | ...                      | 4,172                           | 4,172  |              |                          |        |                         |           |              |
|  | ...                      | 88,243                          | ...    | 1,203        | 2,493                    | ...    | ...                     | 568       | 77           |

| KILLED.                                      |                             | FORCED CONVERSIONS. |         |         | CHURCHES TURNED INTO<br>Mosques. | IN WANT. |         |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------|---------|----------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Clergy.                                      |                             | Villages.           | People. | Clergy. |                                  | Items.   | Totals. |
| Archbps. = A.<br>Bishops = B.<br>Priors = P. | Priests and<br>Evangelists. |                     |         |         |                                  |          |         |
|  |                             |                     |         |         |                                  |          |         |
| { 7 A. 1 B.<br>4 P. }                        | 179                         | 646                 | ...     | 55      | 328                              | ...      | 546,000 |

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